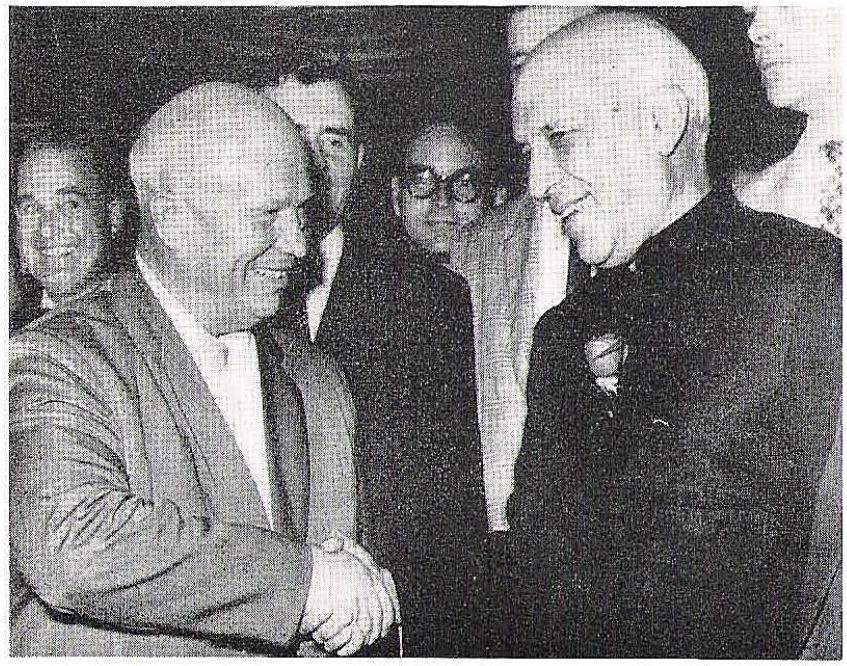
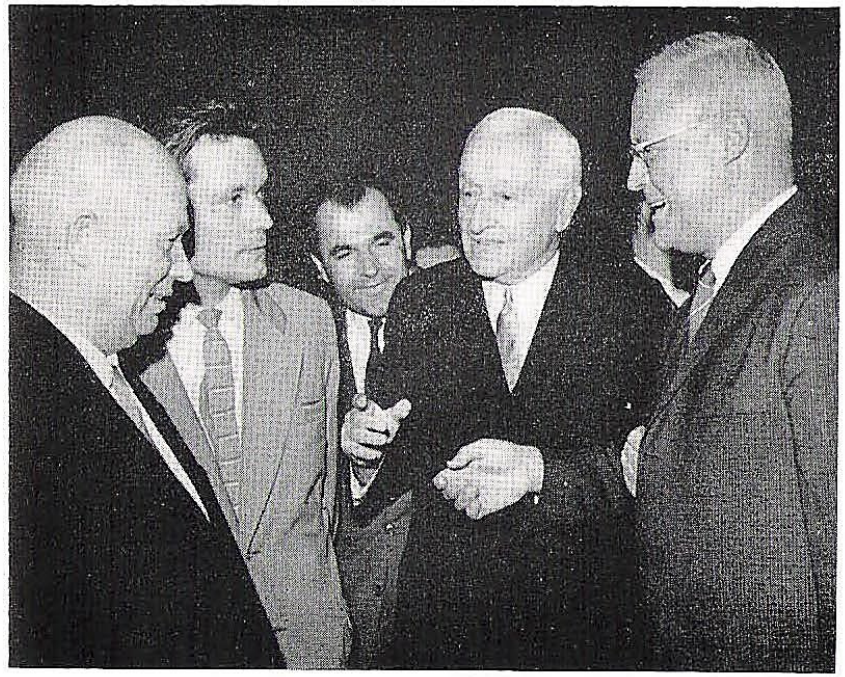
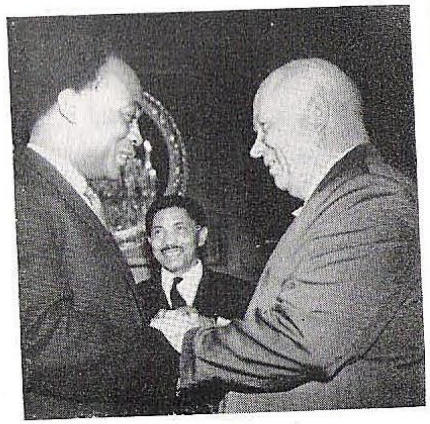


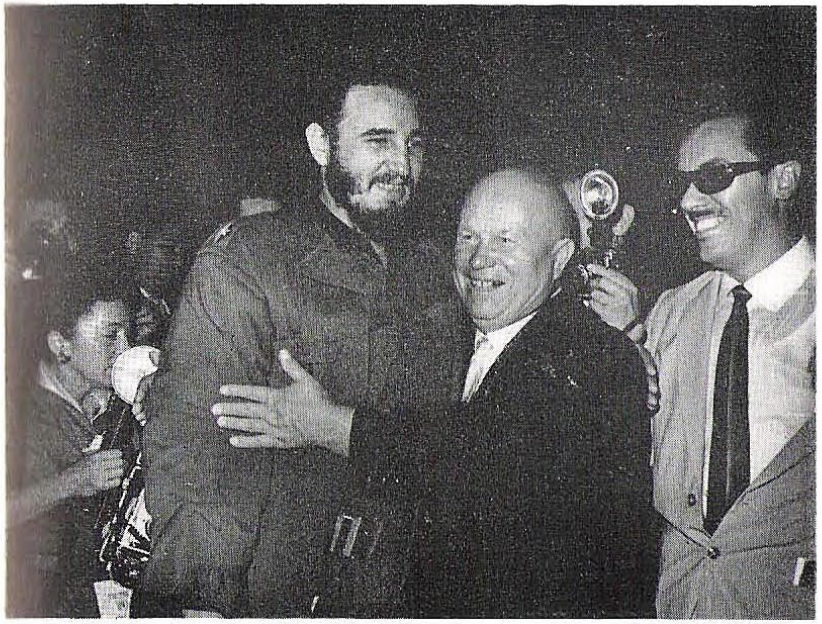




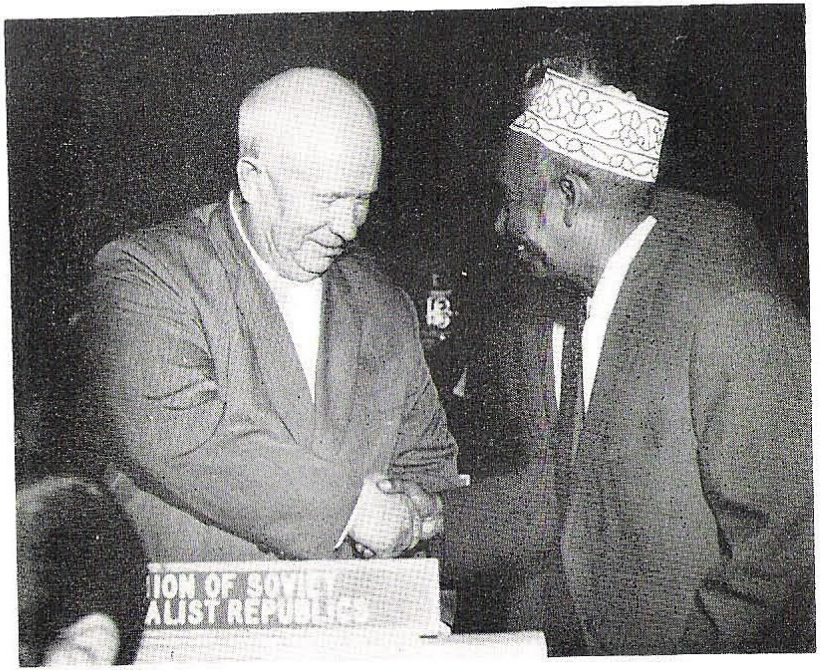



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Khrushchev, Nikita Sergeevich.

KHRUSHCHEV IN NEW YORK

A documentary record of Nikita S. Khrushchev's trip to New York, September 19th to October 13th, 1960, including all his speeches and proposals to the United Nations and major addresses and news conferences.

CROSSCURRENTS PRESS
NEW YORK

PUBLISHED BY CROSSCURRENTS PRESS, INC.

NEW YORK, 1960

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FOREWORD

Under the title KHRUSHCHEV IN NEW YORK, the publisher is making available all the important statements made by Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, during his stay in New York, September 19 to October 13, 1960, at which time he was Chairman of the Soviet delegation to the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. The following documents are included: a complete collection of his UN statements; all Soviet proposals to the UN during this period; other major addresses and news conferences in New York; a follow-up report delivered after Khrushchev's return to Moscow.

This collection comprises a full review of the present world situation as seen by the Government of the USSR. It is a vital part of an unprecedented chapter in diplomatic history, written by the largest gathering of world leaders ever to take place.

The release of this collection, of course, does not imply either acceptance or rejection of the ideas in it. It is published in the belief that we must be fully informed—fully informed about all aspects of developments that have such a direct bearing on our future and the fate of mankind.

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September 19, 1960

Arrival in New York

Nikita S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and head of the Soviet delegation to the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly, arrived in New York on September 19 on the turboelectric ship *Baltika*. With him were the following heads of delegations: N. V. Podgorny of the Ukrainian Republic; Kirill T. Mazurov of the Byelorussian Republic; Todor Zhivkov of Bulgaria; Janos Kadar of Hungary; and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej of Roumania.

The *Baltika* arrived at Pier 73 on the East River, not far from the UN Building, at 9:17 A.M., New York time. Despite the heavy rain, many representatives of the diplomatic corps, newsmen and radio and television correspondents were gathered at the pier.

The welcoming party included Valerian A. Zorin, USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs; Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador to the United States; Antonin Novotny, President of Czechoslovakia and Wladyslaw Gomulka, head of the Polish delegation to the United Nations.

Also among those greeting the Chairman and his colleagues were Cyrus Eaton, American industrialist, and Mrs. Eaton.

After an exchange of greetings, Khrushchev made a brief statement to those assembled:

Statement at the Pier

This is my second visit to the United States of America. Last year I was here as a guest of your country's government. This time I have arrived in New York in a new capacity—as head of the Soviet delegation to the session of the UN General Assembly.

The thoughts and aspirations of a majority of people in all countries are now focused on one goal—how to achieve a situation in which lasting peace will be ensured all over the world. Naturally, people turn their eyes, first of all, to two countries—the United

States and the Soviet Union. They do this not because our countries are selected and marked by Providence, but because they are the strongest economically and are armed with mighty modern weapons.

Should the differences between us continue to grow and the statesmen of the two countries not try to stop the development of poor relations between our countries, everyone realizes what a threat that would be not only to the United States and the Soviet Union, but also to the whole world. We understand this and are trying to do everything to shape the development of relations in the direction of a peaceful adjustment of outstanding problems and the establishment of world peace.

One cannot give preference to feelings and emotions in politics. One should be guided here primarily by common sense and make a calm assessment of all the circumstances. Such is the lot of statesmen: they must see not only their close friends, but also have to go where the interests of their people tell them to go; they do it for the common cause of all nations—for the cause of consolidating world peace.

The Soviet Union attaches very great importance to the question of establishing lasting peace. In order to ensure such peace it is necessary that all countries, and primarily the United States and its allies, realize the need for agreeing on disarmament under strict international control.

Lasting peace on earth will be established only when armaments are scrapped. But if these armaments are loaded and are in a holster on your belt, then neither one side nor the other will feel sure that a conflict will not accidentally break out somewhere.

That is why the Government of the Soviet Union has asked the United Nations to submit for consideration by the General Assembly the supreme question of contemporary international relations—the problem of general and complete disarmament under corresponding strict international control.

The Soviet Government is gratified to note that a number of countries have taken a very serious approach to this problem, and that leading statesmen are heading the delegations of their countries to the UN General Assembly.

Unfortunately, certain statesmen merely speak in defense of the United Nations and call for the consolidation of its prestige,

but in reality they are against having the disarmament problem discussed effectively at the UN General Assembly. What is this but a disparagement of the role of the international organization called upon to ensure peace among the nations?

That is why, frankly speaking, I felt very strange when I read recently the statement of Secretary of State Herter alleging that Khrushchev was coming to America for propaganda purposes, and that the Soviet proposal on the participation of the leading statesmen in the discussion of the disarmament problem at the General Assembly is "absolutely absurd." What a strange sort of logic!

Disarmament is the biggest problem which has for many years now baffled the representatives of different countries who have been vainly discussing it in various committees at different levels. And now when the Soviet Government submits a proposal to have the leading statesmen participate in the discussion of this question at the General Assembly so as finally to break the deadlock on this issue and find a solution for it, its proposal is called propaganda. Yes, this indeed is a strange sort of logic! Those who are working for the solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament fail to understand such logic. If certain statesmen declare that Khrushchev has come to the General Assembly to engage in propaganda, there is nothing left for me but to be proud of such a propaganda mission in favor of peace; and without sparing any effort, I shall engage in such propaganda until even the thick-skulled are convinced of the need for reaching agreement on general disarmament and thereby ensuring peace throughout the world.

I do not know whether I understood correctly the recent decision of the American Government on the participation of the US President, Mr. Eisenhower, in the work of the General Assembly. Perhaps the United States has now revised its attitude toward the Assembly sessions and has also come to the conclusion that the UN can seriously carry on negotiations for reaching a disarmament agreement. Well, if it is not merely a fancy speech they mean but really constructive participation in the Assembly's work, we hail such a decision.

In conclusion I would like to express my great respect for the American nation and wish it success. I have the best feeling from my last year's visit to the United States and my meetings with the

American people. I still remember the good impressions I received from the talks with public figures, statesmen, representatives of American business circles and with plain Americans—workers, farmers and intellectuals.

I'm sure that the relations between our great countries will improve. It is common knowledge that no matter how dark a night might be, it is invariably followed by dawn. That is why I'm sure that no matter how hard the evil forces try to make the atmosphere tense in the relations between our countries, they will certainly fail.

Good times will come when there will be warm and friendly relations between our nations and our governments. It is in pursuance of this aim, which will help to improve the relations among all the countries of the world, that the Soviet Union is prepared to continue to work insistently, honestly and purposefully. It is in the name of the consolidation of the cause of peace and solution of complicated international problems that the Soviet delegation has come to the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly in New York. Thank you for your attention.

September 20, 1960

Meeting with Fidel Castro

Shortly after noon, Premier Khrushchev arrived at the Hotel Theresa, on 125th Street and Seventh Avenue in Harlem, to pay a visit to Premier Fidel Castro of Cuba. Khrushchev and Castro exchanged opinions on a number of basic international problems and on the forthcoming session of the UN General Assembly.

At the conclusion of the meeting, Khrushchev spoke briefly to radio and newsmen on the sidewalk in front of the Soviet Mission to the United Nations.

The Premier expressed his gratification at the meeting with Castro, and stated:

"I considered it my duty to pay a visit to this heroic man, who raised the banner of struggle of the Cuban people for liberty and independence, the struggle of the poor against the rich, and ensured the victory of the working man. The Soviet people ardently hail this victory and wish the greatest success to the people of Cuba and to their national leader, Fidel Castro."

September 23, 1960

Disarmament, Colonialism, and Other International Problems

Statement in the General Debate at the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT,
ESTEEMED DELEGATES:

It is my belief that everyone who comes to this rostrum and casts a glance at this hall is aware that he is addressing a very distinguished and responsible assembly.

There is no more responsible gathering of representatives of states than this one should be. Not for nothing is it called the General Assembly of the United Nations. There is no need for me to decipher the meaning of the name our organization bears. I would just like to stress two words out of several others: these are United Nations. Many nations are represented in this hall and they should be united not just by the walls of this hall, but by the common lofty interests of mankind.

Today there are gathered here to discuss major international issues the representatives of now almost a hundred states. Soon we will have amongst us the delegates of new members of the United Nations Organization, and the walls of this hall will, as it were, recede and it will house an even greater number of lands and countries. We must, all of us, welcome this development because we want truly all states to be represented in the United Nations.

It is natural that our thoughts are now centered around what agitates and alarms mankind. Perhaps it is precisely here that the world is seen in all its diversity and, of course, in all its contradictions. It has fallen to our lot to live in the most turbulent but at the same time in the most wonderful time of man's development, and the men and women of the future will envy us.

Much of what but very recently seemed to some to be im-

mutable and eternal has crumbled because it has outlived its time. The new, more progressive, more equitable has established itself. Our epoch is one of the rapid emergence of new forms of the existence of human society, of an unprecedented upsurge to domination over the forces of nature, of an unparalleled upsurge to a more progressive social order. But though we live in the twentieth century it still bears traces of past ages, and more than that, the remnants of barbarism. One of the chief features of this epoch and its very essence is, however, the awakening of the erstwhile backward, downtrodden, and oppressed peoples.

Ours is the age of the struggle for freedom when the peoples are shaking the foreign yoke off their shoulders. The peoples want a worthy life and are fighting for it.

The victory has been won already in many countries and in many lands. Can we relax, however? We know indeed, that tens of millions of people are still languishing in colonial bondage, and are experiencing cruel deprivations.

This is taking place at a time known for its great and promising scientific discoveries. The mind and the hands of man have created a space ship that circles the earth. Man is already capable of sending human beings far beyond our planet. We have split the atom and are penetrating the albumin cell. We are moving on land and above land with astonishing speed, and the vistas of our knowledge are so broad that we ourselves are surprised.

It may seem that everything in our world is perfect. But at the same time who can say that this world of ours is already completely and well arranged, that in it there is no poverty and deprivation. It is worthwhile pondering once again over the fact that, according to United Nations statistics, hundreds of millions of people on different continents are eking out a hungry and miserable existence. Our world is not free from the feeling of alarm for the future, it sees the danger inherent in the division into military groupings and in the ever growing race of nuclear armaments. The great achievements of man's genius can be used to the benefit or to the detriment of mankind. Such is the difficult choice that faces us.

Every thinking individual will contemplate the question of what scientific progress is giving the people, what the great twentieth century is giving them. Some justly say that it has opened up

before the world new horizons, limitless possibilities for creating an abundance of material benefits and for the comprehensive satisfaction of man's requirements. Others are no less justified in pointing to the tremendous danger in that the achievements of science and technology might serve not these noble goals but, in the first instance, the manufacture of horrifying means of extermination. These means of extermination are today inactive. But they are after all manufactured in order to become active.

This argument between the optimists and the pessimists reflects our present-day reality. The main content of this reality is the struggle between two tendencies, two lines in international relationships. Naturally, I am not touching upon the differences in the social systems since these are questions pertaining to the domestic life of the peoples and states, and can and must be resolved by them alone.

This dispute-filled and complicated line of international relationships came into being neither today, nor yesterday. Two points of view regarding world developments plainly opposed one another as early as in the first post-war years. One line aimed at an international detente, at ending the arms race, at the development of international cooperation, and the exclusion of war from the life of society. What a noble and wonderful line this is! It is, indeed, in the name of the triumph of justice that man lives on the earth.

There is, however, a second line, and we have no right to pass over it in silence. This is a line aimed at fanning the "cold war." It leads to an unchecked build-up of armaments, to the destruction of all the foundations of international cooperation with all the ensuing dangerous consequences.

Two lines in international relationships have been in contest for a long time. But if in elementary geometry parallel lines can never meet, in international affairs these lines may collide. And this would be a fearful moment. Just ten or fifteen years ago hardly anyone could foresee the outcome of the struggle between these two lines in international policies.

In 1960, however, a year in which you and I are living, only the blind will not see the way in which the belief in the necessity of preserving peace is ever more definitely and plainly taking root in the minds of the majority of nations.

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The peoples of all countries, the workers and peasants, the intellectuals, and a part of the bourgeoisie, except for a handful of militarists and monopolists, want not war but peace and peace alone. And if, therefore, the nations wage an active struggle in order to tie the hands of the militarist monopolist quarters, peace can be ensured.

It cannot indeed be otherwise, for life cannot be squeezed into simple geometrical formulas, since life itself relies on the genuine power of the peaceable states, on the ardent sympathy and support of the overwhelming majority of mankind.

It is precisely in the name of the victory of the cause of peace and tranquility, for the sake of service to the cause of peace and security of the nations that the United Nations was created, and we would like to hope that the decisions that will be elaborated by this session of the United Nations General Assembly will bring us all closer to the achievement of the goal of all mankind—peace and justice.

There exist no more lofty goals than those that face the United Nations. It can take extremely important decisions in the field of preventing the outbreak of a new war, safeguarding the legitimate rights and security of all the nations, it can promote the establishment of fruitful international cooperation.

Evidence of how serious are the problems submitted for consideration by this session, evidence of how acute they have become is provided by the fact that a number of states are represented by statesmen holding leading positions in their countries.

Esteemed delegates, we have embarked upon consideration of the problems that today agitate all the nations. The possibilities of the United Nations have now broadened, and the greater is the responsibility vested in it. I have already referred to the fact that the United Nations has been augmented by a large group of young independent African states. I am happy to have this opportunity to welcome ardently, sincerely and cordially the states recently granted United Nations membership, and to convey to them wishes of wellbeing and prosperity on behalf of the Soviet people.

The road traversed by the representatives of these states was not easy. The peoples of these countries sustained oppression, deprivation, and sufferings. They have come to us after a stubborn struggle for their independence and freedom, and all the more

cordially do we welcome them today. We say to them that they have taken their legitimate and rightful seats as members of the United Nations!

The countries that have cast off the burden of colonialism are a huge and active peace force. From now on the young states of Africa and the Mediterranean will also make their outstanding contribution to the solution of the important and complicated problems facing the United Nations.

I. The Policy of Preparing War and Violating the Sovereign Rights of the Nations Must Be Condemned and Halted

A year ago I already had the honour of speaking from this lofty rostrum. That was a time when highly promising prospects for the invigoration of the international atmosphere had opened up before mankind. Contacts between responsible statesmen from various countries of the world were expanding. The General Assembly adopted a resolution on general and complete disarmament. The Ten Nation Disarmament Committee began its work. Agreement was reached on a Summit Conference. Certain progress was made in the talks on the discontinuance of atomic and hydrogen weapons tests. All this instilled great hopes into the hearts of people in all countries.

No one can dispute the fact that the Soviet Union has never spared any effort to make international relations continue to develop further in this gratifying direction. However, the sinister forces who profit by maintaining international tension cling hard to their positions. These are a small handful of people, but they are fairly influential and greatly affect the policies of their states. No small effort should, therefore, be exerted to crush their resistance. Hardly does the policy of an international detente start to yield appreciable fruits when they immediately launch extreme measures so that the nations should not feel any relief, they go all out in order again and again to force the world back to dark times, to aggravate international tension still further.

We come up against a dangerous manifestation of the activities of these forces last spring when the aircraft of one of the

largest of the United Nations member states, namely the United States, perfidiously invaded the air space of the Soviet Union and other states. Moreover, the United States has promoted such violation of international law into a principle of deliberately pursued state policy.

The aggressive incursion of an American plane into our country and all the subsequent actions of the United States Government have shown the nations that they are dealing with the calculated policy of the United States Government which attempted to supplant international law with piracy, and honest negotiations between sovereign equal states with perfidy.

The whole world knows what a heavy blow this policy dealt to the cause of alleviating international tension. In particular, it was the cause of the breakdown of the Paris Summit Conference which was to have considered the paramount problems of today. Under different circumstances this conference could have laid the foundations for sounder cooperation among states.

However, for some convinced lovers of what does not belong to them the lessons they are taught are of no avail. They are given a sound thrashing, but they think that all their setbacks are due to their carelessness or to the use of inadequate facilities. And then again they try to break into another man's house, but from another entrance this time, and using new devices.

Something of the sort is happening with the initiators of spy flights of American aircraft. I don't know what lessons they drew from the U-2 incident, but exactly two months later, on July 1, they dispatched to us another military aircraft, an RB-47. This plane carried guns and special reconnaissance equipment. The plane penetrated our country from the direction of the Kola Peninsula. For what purposes? In the name of what?

I believe every person of common sense understands that this plane was not bringing us any good cargo.

Incidentally, the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, mentioned in his speech yesterday that an RB-47 American military aircraft was shot down by Soviet forces. I am not going to argue about this matter. The actual state of affairs and our position have already been explained in detail.

But, strange as it may seem, while closely following the President's speech I did not hear him say a single word about the

U-2 plane which was also downed over the territory of the Soviet Union. How can this be explained? Perhaps the President has forgotten about this plane?

What then is the United States trying to do, in fact, by sending its planes into the air space of the USSR? Does it perhaps want to cause an incident which would be followed by rocket talk? One plane, another plane, and, in actual fact, an incident of this sort is staged. Or is this perhaps for the time being only a policy of probing the strength of the other side?

Be this as it may, but one thing is absolutely plain: the provocation-mongers are seeking to create an atmosphere in which the nations would live in constant fear. If such an atmosphere satisfies the United States Government it can in no way satisfy the Soviet Union and the overwhelming majority of other states. We have always striven and will strive for the ending of lawlessness in international relations in all its manifestations!

The Soviet Union is not tendering any demands that are out of the ordinary. We are merely striving for the observance of the most elementary standards of intercourse between states. We merely want the strict observance of the United Nations Charter which excludes methods of violence, brigandry, or aggression, and demands respect for the sovereign rights of all states as the basis of stable peace on earth. Is this so very much? And is this not desired by all honest people on earth who hold dear the destinies of peace, the sovereignty and independence of their countries?

The allies of the United States sometimes rebuke us for criticizing the American government too severely. But to feign kindness, and condescendingly slap the backs of the sponsors of international provocations would mean rendering a disservice to the cause of peace. To fight for peace means to courageously expose any actions which cause a war danger, whatever be their source. This invigorates the international atmosphere very well. Connivance with the provocation-mongers, lenience to them have been shown by experience ultimately to lead to the outbreak of war. History is familiar with not a few such examples which are unfortunate for the destinies of the nations.

The flights of American spy planes are instructive in another respect too. They have demonstrated particularly graphically the danger for peace that is constituted by the web of American mili-

tary bases which has enmeshed dozens of states in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Like a deep source of dangerous infection in an organism these bases destroy the normal political and economic life of states upon which they have been imposed. They block the establishment of normal relations between these states and neighboring countries. Indeed, what kind of normal relations can there be if the people in these neighboring countries cannot sleep in peace, if they are constantly overshadowed by the threat of being subjected to an exterminating blow whenever the American military take it into their heads to launch new provocations.

The United Nations cannot fail to heed the ever more insistent demands of the peoples who are alarmed by the sallies of the enemies of peace. The forms and results of the popular movement for peace and international cooperation in various countries are different, but its meaning, causes and aims are the same: it is a movement of protest against the policy of war and provocations, against the back-breaking arms race, against the foisting upon the nations of a will that is alien and inimical to them.

There are fewer and fewer people willing to reconcile themselves with the present situation when any manifestation of the free will of the peoples, any trends towards the pursuit of an independent policy—whether on the part of Indonesia, Iraq, or Guinea, neutral Austria, or little Iceland which is protecting her economic interests—meet with frantic opposition and evoke thunder and lightning on the part of the powers grouping around NATO, this present-day "holy alliance" of sorts which has assumed the thankless mission of exorcising the spirit of freedom wherever it appears on the globe.

Courageous Cuba has become the object of all kinds of attacks, intrigues, and subversion, economic aggression and finally, poorly concealed threats of intervention.

The relations of the United States with Cuba are illustrative. All the branches of Cuba's economy before the victory of the popular revolution in that country are known to have been dominated completely by American monopolies which gained huge profits out of the exploitation of the Cuban workers and the wealth of their fertile land.

Some people in the United States at times like to boast that

the living standards in their country are higher than those of other countries. There is no doubt about it, the living standards in the United States today are higher than in Cuba. But what is the explanation for this? Is it because the Cuban people are less industrious or because the Cuban soil is less fertile? No, this is certainly not the reason. The diligence of the Cuban people and their love for their homeland and their soil are well known. The reason is quite different. For years the fruits of the Cuban people's labour were used not by themselves but by the American monopolies. After this can anyone be surprised at the fact that the per capita income in Cuba was in 1958, for instance, six and a half times less than it was in the United States? This speaks for itself eloquently.

Now a different order has come into existence in Cuba. Having expelled dictator Batista the Cuban people have freed themselves from foreign exploitation, and have taken their fate into their own hands firmly declaring to the United States monopolists: "No more plundering of our country. We ourselves shall utilize the wealth of our labour and our land!"

Thus, Cuba's purported guilt consists in that the freedom-loving and brave Cuban people wanted to live an independent life. The United Nations must do all it can to remove from Cuba the overhanging threat of interference from outside. To allow matters to be brought to a new Guatemala would mean to give free rein to events whose consequences hardly anyone can now foresee.

Stormy developments have flared up on the African continent. The young Republic of the Congo on the third day after the proclamation of her independence fell victim to aggression. Before the eyes of the whole world the Belgian Government attempted to deprive that country of its freedom, to take back what the Congolese people have been selflessly fighting for over decades. An international crisis developed which brought back to everyone's memory the troubled days of autumn 1956: the days of the Suez crisis. As was the case then, an independent African state fell victim to unprovoked aggression, the universally recognized principles of relations among states were flouted, a situation was created which is fraught with a grave threat to peace not only in Africa.

How ridiculous and absurd are the arguments with which the aggressors have been covering up their actions. They alleged

that "chaos" would reign in the Congo if the Belgian troops had not marched in, that the Congolese people had not yet matured for independent nationhood. Who could believe these allegations? The Africans have a saying which runs: "To cheat the people is just the same as to try to wrap fire in paper." Armed aggression against the Congo has been condemned by the whole of Africa, by world-wide public opinion.

And of course, it was not concern for the life of Belgian citizens in the Congo but the far more tangible interests of the all-powerful monopolies which have taken root on Congolese land that prompted the Belgian Government to undertake the reckless attempt to bring the people of this young state to their knees, to tear away by force its richest province of Katanga. Raw materials for nuclear weapons—uranium, cobalt, titanium, cheap labour—that is what the monopolists are afraid of losing in the Congo. This is what constitutes the genuine basis of their conspiracy against the Congo the strings of which extend from Brussels to the capitals of other major NATO powers.

When the colonialists realized that the government of the Republic of the Congo which was legally elected and enjoyed the confidence of the Parliament had embarked upon the path of a firm independent policy, and set itself the task of working for the interests of the Congolese people, every means was employed by the colonialists to bring down this government. The colonialists decided to get a puppet government created which, posing as an "independent" government, would, in fact, be obedient to the will of the colonizers.

The colonialists tried to bring this about by crude methods and direct interference, as they always do in such cases. Unfortunately, in the case of the Congo they have been doing this unseemly work through the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold and his staff.

This is shameful. The United Nations forces which were sent at the request of the legal government to help that government have taken over the airports and the radio station, disorganized the life of the state and paralyzed the activities of the legitimate government. The UN troops created conditions for the treacherous acts of the Katanga puppet where forces were rallied and mobi-

lized against the government of Patrice Lumumba which was elected in conformity with all the rules of democratic procedure.

The colonialists and their servitors say that Lumumba is a communist. Lumumba is certainly no communist but he is a patriot of his country and honestly serves his own people in their struggle for liberation from the colonial yoke.

But you, Messrs. colonialists, by your actions are helping the peoples of the colonial countries to eliminate the screen by which you blind the people, obscure their consciousness, spreading various versions about communists. All the peoples will understand—and they will understand it soon—that communists, that a communist party, is a party which really expresses the will of the peoples in their struggle for freedom and independence.

Some organs of the US and British press, encouraged by certain forces, clamour about an alleged Soviet defeat in the Congo.

What can one say of such unwise allegations? First of all, we did not and could not sustain any defeat in the Congo because there neither were nor could there have been any troops of ours or any interference on our part in the internal affairs of the Congo.

It has been and will always be our stand that the peoples of Africa, like those of other continents, striving for their liberation from the colonial yoke, should establish orders in their countries of their own will and choice.

Secondly, we have always opposed and will oppose any interference by imperialists in the internal affairs of the countries liberating themselves from colonial dependence, as well as such unworthy methods as were used in the Congo.

The colonialists seek to dissolve the legitimate government and Parliament with the help of the countries which call themselves the free world, they want to celebrate their victory. But it is as yet too early for them to rejoice for it is a Pyrrhic victory. By their pseudo-victory the colonialists are helping to remove the scales from the eyes of the colonial peoples who see more and more clearly that, while granting independence in form, the colonialists do their utmost to maintain colonial oppression.

The people will not stop half way. They will gird their forces and act with still greater foresight realizing that the struggle for independence is a hard one, that it is necessary to overcome many

difficulties on the way to freedom, to learn to distinguish true friends from enemies.

The struggle started by the Congolese people cannot be stopped. It can be slowed down and hampered. But it is with all the greater force that this struggle will break out and then the people, having overcome all difficulties, will gain full freedom.

The Soviet government has welcomed and is welcoming now the struggle of the colonial peoples for independence and will do its utmost to render moral support and material assistance to the colonial peoples in their just struggle.

The United Nations should demand the re-establishment of order in the Congo so that the Parliament legally elected by the Congolese people can function, so that conditions be created for the normal activities of the legitimate government of the Congo which is headed by Mr. Lumumba and which has and is enjoying the confidence of the Congolese people.

The Soviet Government has placed the Congo question on the agenda of the fifteenth session of the General Assembly. The Assembly should give a rebuff to the colonialists and their stooges and call Mr. Hammarskjold to order so that he should not abuse his position as Secretary General and should discharge his duties in strict conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the decisions of the Security Council.

It is the opinion of the Soviet Government that a decision should be taken that only the troops of the countries of Africa and Asia should be left in the Congo, those troops remaining there only with the consent of the legally elected Congolese government of Mr. Lumumba and being used only at the discretion of this government in the interests of ensuring the normal functioning of the legitimate government and Parliament of the Congo Republic.

All states which in deeds and not in words want to see the Congo free and independent should refrain from any action which could lead to an infringement of the territorial integrity and independence of the Republic of the Congo.

We are convinced that the Congolese people themselves will cope with the present difficulties and will succeed in establishing order in their country.

We are all witnesses of the fact that many nations are expe-

riencing unceasing hostile acts, brutal pressure on the part of a certain group of states which seek to ignore the legitimate interests and rights of other countries. This fills the international atmosphere with acute conflicts the danger of which is enhanced by the mounting arms race.

It is quite evident that international relations cannot continue to develop on this basis since this would mean sliding headlong towards a precipice. It is the sacred duty of the United Nations to come out in defense of the sovereign rights of states, for the restoration of a firm legal basis in international relations, and for the halting of the arms race.

Unfortunately, the policy of violating the integral rights of the peoples is still to be felt in the United Nations itself. Just take the question of the representation in the United Nations of the great People's China. To block the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations only because the socialist order in that country is not to the liking of the ruling quarters of certain Western countries, and, first and foremost, the United States, means to ignore reality, not to desire an easing of international tension and to sacrifice the interests of consolidating international peace and the development of international cooperation for the sake of the narrow political designs of a small group of states. Such a situation is harmful for the cause of peace and humiliating for the United Nations.

This is also attested to by the history of the question of the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to United Nations' membership. As you know, this question has been discussed time and again for many years. The Mongolian People's Republic, however, up to now has not been admitted to the United Nations. We believe that it is high time to settle this question and admit the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations so that it can participate on an equal footing with the other sovereign states in the discussion and solution of vital international problems.

By its very nature and by its destiny the United Nations should have the status of a universal world organization. The existence of the United Nations would lose sense if it were to become a one-sided organization and were to lower itself to the position of an errand boy of this or that military alignment.

II. The Colonial Regime Must Be Completely and Finally Eliminated

Fellow delegates:

The process taking place for all to see of the emancipation and regeneration to independent life of nations which for ages were kept away by the colonialists from the highroad of mankind's development is a great hallmark of our epoch. In fifteen years alone about one and a half billion people, in other words, half the world's population, cast off the shackles of the colonial yoke. Dozens of new national states emerged from the ruins of the old colonial empires.

A new period has started in the history of mankind when the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America are beginning to take an active part in the determination of the destinies of the whole world together with the nations of Europe and North America. Without recognition of this immutable fact there can be no realistic foreign policy, no policy marching in step with the demands of the times and conforming to the peace-loving aspirations of the peoples.

Is the solution of major international problems conceivable today without the participation of the People's Republic of China? Can these problems be resolved without the participation of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other states? Let anyone who thinks otherwise try here, within the United Nations, to ignore the opinion and the votes of the representatives of the states of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. True, in some Western countries the appearance in the United Nations of new Asian and African states causes fear.

More than that, opinions have begun to circulate on ways to limit the further flow of newly emerging states into the United Nations.

As for the Soviet Union, I shall say frankly that we are quite content with the admission of so many new states to the United Nations. We have always opposed and will continue to oppose any curtailment of the rights of nations that have won national independence. We are at one with these states in our common desire to preserve and strengthen peace, to create on our planet conditions for peaceful coexistence and cooperation between countries irrespective of their state and social systems, as is required by the peaceable principles proclaimed by the Bandung Conference of Asian and African countries. Facts testify that the liberation of nations and peoples that had been under colonial domination leads to the invigoration of international relations, to the expansion of international cooperation, to the consolidation of universal peace.

The peoples of the new states have shown convincingly that they are not only able to get by without control and tutelage on the part of the colonial powers, and can govern themselves but that they are active creators of a new life and incomparably wiser administrators and more careful masters of their property, of the wealth of their country than the colonial authorities.

Early this year I visited India, Indonesia, Burma and Afghanistan. I must say that I was much impressed by the great success in raising the level of the national economy and culture. In those countries we saw large new building projects, dams and roads under construction, the buildings of new universities and institutes.

Can such a picture be seen in the colonies? Such things do not and cannot exist there. There the complete arbitrary rule of the foreigners reigns supreme. Peoples of the colonial countries have not only been deprived of the right to independence and self-government, but their national and human feelings and dignity are insulted and flouted at every step. The foreign monopolies pump out of the colonies all that is of value, they barbarically plunder the wealth by means of merciless exploitation.

Due to the rule of colonialists the economy of the colonies is extremely backward in its development while the working population leads a miserable existence. It is precisely in the colonies that the longest working day is to be found and at the same time the lowest national income, the lowest wages, the highest percentage of illiteracy, the lowest life span and the highest mortality rate.

There is no need here to describe in detail the impoverished state of over 100,000,000 human beings deprived of their rights who are still languishing under colonial bondage. The archives of the United Nations contain more than enough reports of various United Nations commissions, petitions and complaints which characterize the condition of the population of those countries

and territories where the colonial regime of government is still preserved under various names. These documents are an indictment of the ignominious system of colonialism. What is happening in those countries and regions justly evokes profound indignation and revulsion among all honest people on earth. But even in the remaining colonies the time of the serene rule of the foreign oppressors has passed. Though the order in the colonies remains as heretofore the people there are becoming different. They are becoming ever more conscious of their condition and are resolutely refusing to bear the colonial yoke. And when the peoples rise up to struggle for their freedom, for a better life, no force in the world can stop this mighty movement.

Look what is happening in the colonies today. Africa is boiling and swirling like a volcano. The Algerian people have been waging a heroic selfless struggle for national independence for about six years. Ever greater resolve is being manifested in the struggle for their rights by the peoples of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, Ruanda-Urundi, Angola, Mozambique, Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, Sierra Leone, South West Africa, Zanzibar, as well as West Irian, Puerto Rico, and many other colonies.

It should be clear to all that the struggle of the peoples for their liberation cannot be checked by any means or force, because this is a great historic process which is going on with ever growing irreversible force. The domination of this or that state over another can be prolonged by a year or two but, just as in the past the bourgeois system came to replace feudalism, and just as today the socialist system is replacing capitalism, the slavery of colonialism will yield to freedom. Such are the laws of human development and only adventurers can expect that mountains of corpses and millions of victims would stop the arrival of a radiant future.

Colonialism should be done away with for it brings misfortunes and suffering not only to the peoples of enslaved countries. Misfortunes and suffering, tears and privation also fall upon the shoulders of the peoples of the home countries. Who can say that French mothers whose children are dying in the fields of Algeria are less unfortunate than the Algerian mothers who bury their sons in their own land.

Now when the blood of colonial peoples is being shed one

cannot turn away or close one's eyes to this bloodshed, and pretend that peace reigns supreme. What kind of peace is this when savage wars are raging, wars which at that are unequal from the point of view of the conditions the combatants find themselves in. The troops of the colonial powers are armed to the teeth with all modern means of killing people, while the peoples selflessly fighting for their liberation are armed with obsolete primitive weapons. But whatever wars of extermination the colonialists should wage the peoples fighting for their liberation will be victorious.

There are countries where sympathies toward the struggle of oppressed peoples are great but they are rather afraid to spoil their relations with colonial powers and therefore do not raise their voice against wars of extermination and put up with colonialism. Others are themselves colonialists and there is nothing to be expected from them. The colonialist policy with all its atrocities is supported by the allies of the colonial powers in aggressive military blocs.

The overwhelming majority of mankind has long since arrived at its final verdict regarding the colonial regime.

The Soviet Union faithful to the policy of peace and support to the struggle of oppressed peoples for their national independence which was proclaimed by V. I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, is urging the United Nations to raise its voice in defense of the just cause of liberating the colonies, and to undertake prompt action towards the complete elimination of the colonial regime of administration.

Complete and final elimination of the colonial regime in all its forms and manifestations has been prompted by the entire course of world history in the last decades. This regime is doomed and its death is a matter of time. Practically the question now is whether the burial of the colonial regime will be quiet or whether it will be accompanied by dangerous gambles by the supporters of colonialism who clutch at extreme measures. The events in the Congo are a fresh reminder of existing dangers.

The United Nations called upon to serve the strengthening of peace and security of nations is duty bound to do its utmost in order not to allow new flareups of military conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America arising out of the clash between the colonial powers and the peoples fighting for their freedom and

independence. Is it necessary to prove that any great power can be involved in the orbit of such a conflict and then inevitably the war, local at first, will grow into a general war, a world war?

It is not enough merely to be on the defensive against the intrigues of the colonialists surviving one international crisis after another. It is necessary to firmly safeguard mankind against these intrigues, to make the world secure from colonial military adventures. It is necessary to do away with colonialism once and for all, and to throw it into the rubbish heap of history.

Who else but the United Nations should take a stand in favour of the elimination of the colonial regime of administration since, according to the Charter, the duty of the United Nations is to affirm faith in the rights of man, in the dignity and value of the human being, in the equality of rights of nations, big and small. How can one develop friendly relations between nations on the basis of respecting the principle of equality and self-determination of nations which is the aim of the United Nations and at the same time reconcile oneself to a situation where, as a result of the predatory policy of powers strong militarily and economically many a nation of Asia and Africa can win the right to determine its own fate only at the price of tremendous sufferings and sacrifices, only by armed struggle against oppressors. How can one "achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion"—you will probably have noticed that I was quoting Article I, paragraph 3 of the aims and objects of the UN Charter,—and at the same time shut one's eyes upon such a shameful phenomenon of present-day human society as is the colonial regime.

Is it not time to mount the final offensive against colonialism as a century or more ago civilized mankind launched an offensive against the slave trade and slave-driving, and buried them, thus opening up ample scope not only for the political but also for the economic development of society.

The Soviet Government believes that the time has come to raise the question of the complete and final elimination of the

colonial regime of administration in all its forms and shapes so as to do away with this shame, this barbarism and savagery.

When I was preparing my statement, I knew that not all the participants of the General Assembly would welcome the Soviet Union's proposals, because along with the representatives of the free and independent states there are sitting here representatives of colonial powers as well. And they are hardly likely to welcome our freedom-loving proposals.

Firmly adhering to the principle that the United Nations is the centre for coordinating the actions of nations in achieving the universal aims proclaimed in its Charter the Soviet Government submits for consideration by this session of the General Assembly a draft Declaration in which the following demands are solemnly proclaimed:

1. *To grant immediately to all colonial countries, trusteeship territories and other non-self-governing territories complete independence and freedom in the building up of their own national states in conformity with the freely expressed will and desire of their peoples. The colonial regime, colonial administration in all its forms should be abolished completely so as to make it possible for the peoples of such territories to determine their destiny and form of government.*

2. *To eliminate likewise all strongholds of colonialism in the shape of possessions and leasehold areas on the territories of other states.*

3. *The governments of all countries are called upon to observe strictly and consistently the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Declaration relating to equality and respect for sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all states without exception allowing no manifestations of colonialism, no exclusive rights or advantages for some states to the prejudice of other states.*

Being convinced that the complete elimination of the regime of colonial administration will be a noble act of genuine humaneness, a great stride forward on the way of civilization and progress we *ardently urge all governments represented in the United Nations to support the provisions of this Declaration.*

The draft Declaration prepared by the Soviet Government and submitted for your attention outlines in detail the considerations by which we were guided in raising this question at the

General Assembly. We request that this draft Declaration be circulated as an official document of the UN General Assembly.

In this statement made in the general debate I should also like to make the following points.

The adoption by the United Nations of measures for the complete elimination of the colonial regime would not only create favorable conditions for localizing and cooling the existing cauldrons of military danger where an armed struggle between the colonialists and the peoples fighting for their independence is being waged, but would also greatly diminish the possibility of new military conflicts between states in these areas of the world. The peoples of the countries who are now suffering from humiliations brought about by foreign domination would gain a clear prospect of peaceful liberation from the foreign yoke, and the states clinging to their colonial possessions would be held responsible to the United Nations, to world public opinion for the implementation of the provisions of the proposed Declaration. Of course, such a prospect will become reality only in the event that the colonial powers do not evade the implementation of the UN decisions.

No one may forget what great changes the elimination of the colonial regime would institute in the life of the peoples of the enslaved countries. This would be not only a triumph of elementary human fairness and international law which the United Nations must strive for not in words but in deeds, but would also unite nations, backward as a result of age-long oppression, with the benefits of modern science, technology, culture and social progress.

It is difficult to overestimate the tremendous importance of the elimination of the colonial regime for the entire world economy. It is common knowledge that the economy of colonies and trusteeship territories is today subordinated to the vested interests of foreign monopolies, while the industrialization of these countries has been artificially held in check. Imagine that the situation has changed and these countries and territories, having become independent, obtain the possibility of extensive utilization of their rich natural resources, of industrialization, while their populations lead a better life. This would result in a colossal growth of the world market's capacity which would undoubtedly exercise a favourable influence not only on the economic development of the coun-

tries of the East but on the economy of industrially developed Western countries as well.

A positive role in overcoming the age-old backwardness of the countries that are being liberated would be played by economic and technical assistance under the auspices of the United Nations and on a bilateral basis. Of course, this will require considerable funds. Where can they be obtained without overburdening the population of industrially developed countries? Once again from this rostrum I draw your attention to such a source as disarmament.

The allocation of only one tenth of the funds which the great powers are spending for military purposes would increase the amount of assistance to underdeveloped countries by ten billion dollars a year. And the whole integrated construction of one of the world's largest power systems in the Ingui area of the Congo which is capable of making a tremendous area in Africa blossom is estimated at five billion dollars.

It is also pertinent to recall that it is the moral duty of states that possessed colonies in the past to return to the liberated peoples of those countries at least a part of the values taken by them through cruel exploitation of the population and through pillage of the natural resources.

It could be said that it is easy for the Soviet Union to speak for the elimination of the colonial regime since the Soviet Union has no colonies. Yes, this is so. We have neither colonies nor capital in other countries. But there was a time when many nationalities that populate our country experienced the heavy oppression of tsarism, of the landlord bourgeois system. The conditions of remote areas of the tsarist empire hardly differed from those colonies because they were severely exploited by autocracy, by capitalism. If autocracy looked upon the peoples of Central Asia, Trans-Caucasia and other nationalities that lived in the Russian empire as upon a source of profit, after the October revolution when these peoples obtained complete freedom they promptly raised their economy, culture and wellbeing.

Let us take, for instance, the Soviet Republics of Central Asia. Now Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Turkmenia, Tadjikistan —all the sister republics of Central Asia have turned from backward colonies of tsarist Russia into advanced industrially developed socialist republics. During the period from 1913 to 1960 the out-

put of major industries increased by over 60 times. The industrial production per capita of Kazakhstan, a backward land in the past, equals that of Italy and its per capita power output is higher than in Italy and is at the same level as in Japan.

Before the revolution only 7 million kilowatt-hours of electricity was produced in the territory of Central Asia and Kazakhstan which is 300 times less than in the whole of the Russian empire, while today the annual output of power is 19 billion kilowatt hours, that is 9 times more than in the entire pre-revolutionary Russia.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are engaged in peaceful creative labor for the successful implementation of the targets of the seven year plan for the development of the USSR national economy for 1959-1965. As a result of the realization of this plan the total industrial output in the USSR will increase during the seven year period approximately twofold. The power output in the country will increase more than twofold and in Central Asia almost threefold.

Already today the Central Asian republics' power output per capita is about 800 kilowatt-hours a year, i.e. considerably more than in any Latin American republic. The Soviet Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan produce many times more power than such neighbouring states as, for example, Turkey, which generates 95 kilowatt-hours per capita, Iran—36 kilowatt-hours, Pakistan—11 kilowatt-hours.

The economy and culture of other relatively small nationalities of the Soviet Union, united in autonomous republics, have immeasurably grown. Thus, for example, the output of the major industries of the Yakut ASSR during the period of 1913-1959 increased by 53 times, the Komy ASSR—by 109 times, the Tatar ASSR—by 147 times, the Bashkir ASSR—by 163 times.

In the family of equal socialist republics the former border lands of pre-revolutionary Russia which were threatened with extinction from malnutrition and diseases turned into flourishing land where the living standards have grown in the same way as in the whole of the Soviet Union. Wages and salaries of workers and employees there do not differ in amount from those in other republics of the Soviet Union. Along with all the citizens of the

USSR they are provided with pensions, sick pay and other social benefits.

Still more striking is the success of the Soviet Union's national republics in the development of culture. It is known, for instance, that before the revolution the nationalities of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics were almost entirely illiterate. There were almost no people with secondary and higher education. Soviet power has opened for all peoples broad access to education and culture. Illiteracy of the population of Kazakhstan and the Central Asian republics as well as illiteracy of the population of the other republics of the USSR is now done away with and they, like the whole of the USSR, have become republics of overall literacy.

Before the revolution in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirghizia, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan there were no institutions of higher learning—and in Kirghizia, Tadjikistan and Turkmenistan even no technical schools—whereas last year 211 thousand students studied in those republics in the institutions of higher learning and 176 thousand students in the technical schools and other secondary specialized institutions. For every ten thousand citizens of these republics there are on the average 88 students of institutions of higher learning and 73 students of technical schools not counting large numbers of young people who went to study beyond the borders of their republics—to Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Saratov, Novosibirsk, Tomsk and other centres of culture. I would recall that in France there are only 40 students in institutions of higher learning for every ten thousand citizens, in Italy—34, and in West Germany 31, that is, almost three times less than in Soviet Central Asia.

One of the decisive factors guaranteeing the successful development of the economy and culture of the national republics is the growth of skilled cadres of workers and intellectuals.

May I cite here a few figures taken from the results of the latest census and compare them with those of the census of 1926, the year when our economy was already completing its return to the pre-revolutionary level. During this period the total number of workers and employees in the national economy increased sixfold in the Soviet Union and tenfold in Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Still more considerable was the increase of skilled workers

and specialists. Here, for example, are the figures for some professions (in thousands of people):

		1926	1959	Times by which numbers grew from 1926 to 1959
Metal workers	The whole of the USSR	993	9304	9
	Central Asia	29	528	18
Chemical workers	The whole of the USSR	44	395	9
	Central Asia	0.23	16.6	72
Mechanics	The whole of the USSR	121	1781	15
	Central Asia	3.7	155	42
Drivers, tractor and combine operators	The whole of the USSR	22	5684	260
	Central Asia	0.8	754	943
Engineers, technicians and agronomists	The whole of the USSR	267	4683	18
	Central Asia	9.3	349	38
Teachers and other workers of culture and education	The whole of the USSR	486	3276	7
	Central Asia	18	342	19
Doctors and skilled medical personnel	The whole of the USSR	199	1702	8.5
	Central Asia	6	147	24
Scientific workers	The whole of the USSR	14	316	23
	Central Asia	0.36	26.5	74

Tremendous success in the development of economy, culture and science was achieved, of course, not only in the republics of Central Asia which were particularly backward in the pre-revolutionary period, but in all other Soviet republics as well. Thus, for example, in all the Union Republics academies of science have been established and there exist a great number of scientific research institutes and institutions of higher learning. In all republics in the years of the Soviet rule qualified cadres of the working class have been trained and the numbers of intellectuals greatly increased.

After the Great October Socialist Revolution the bourgeoisie of the whole world kept harping about the inevitable end of the power of the Soviets because Russia was a country of poor education and the working class had no specialists capable of running the state machinery and the country's economy. Life has

proved the truth of Lenin's words that the revolution would awaken popular initiative and that Soviet power would produce leaders and organizers from amidst the masses and that the common worker and peasant having taken power would learn to govern the state, would master all achievements of modern science and technology.

The tsarist government pursued in the border lands of Russia an essentially colonial policy which differed but little from what can be seen today in colonial countries. Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Tadjiks and other nationalities were scornfully called "aliens." They were not considered as human beings and were severely exploited. National differences, hatred and discord were stirred up between these nationalities, and the tsarist empire was held together only by bayonets and subjugation. When the peoples of Central Asia and Trans-Caucasia were given national freedom and equal rights with other nationalities of Russia they showed their capabilities in the development of national economy and culture.

Did the development of our country suffer from the granting of the right to independence and self-determination to the peoples? Are there strife and enmity in our multinational country between nationalities or disintegration of the state? No, such is not the case. There neither is nor can be anything of the sort.

According to the Constitution each of our 15 Union Republics has the right to remain in the Union or leave it if it so desires. The existence of 19 autonomous republics, 9 autonomous regions and 10 national territories makes it possible to preserve the national features and cultural originality of each people and nationality.

Accord and an unprecedented cohesion of all nationalities have been achieved in the Soviet Union. Genuine friendship between nationalities was brought into being which all the trials of the second world war could not shake. It was not only the national minorities who gained from these great changes but also the Russians, Ukrainians, and Bielorussians—the nations comprising the majority of the Soviet Union's population.

We are proud that on the experience of the former border lands of Russia it has been completely proved that it is possible for the countries of the East to do away with backwardness, poverty, diseases, and ignorance within the life-time of one generation and to rise to the level of economically advanced countries.

And now may I turn to other factual examples which illustrate how the colonialists exercise their "civilizing mission" in the colonies.

Upon the attainment of independence by the former colonies the national annual per capita income according to official UN statistics was in Indonesia only 25 US dollars, while in Holland it was 20 times higher. In Burma this income was 36 dollars, in India—57, that is, ten times less than in Great Britain. The national per capita income in Belgium at the time the Congolese people won their independence was 13 times higher than the income of a Congolese. And, at that, in the Congo, as well as in other colonial countries, the lion's share of this extremely low income was taken by the colonialists.

Let us take such an important index of a country's economic development as the output of power. At the attainment of independence the output of power in Burma was 4 kilowatt-hours per capita a year, in India—about 15 kilowatt-hours, in Pakistan—2 kilowatt-hours, in Egypt—about 50 kilowatt-hours while in Great Britain in 1947 the per capita output was over 1100 kilowatt-hours.

The colonialists kept the enslaved nations in ignorance and darkness. In 1950 the number of literate persons in Indonesia was not higher than 15 to 20 per cent. In India even a few years after independence had been won, when measures had already been taken to develop the national education system the literacy level was 16 per cent, in Pakistan it was 14 per cent. By the time the countries of French Indo-China attained independence there were 330 students in France for each 100 thousand citizens and 4 in Cambodia. In 1948 in Indonesia there was one doctor for 67 thousand citizens. It is not surprising that as a result of the poor living standards and due to the lack of the necessary medical aid the average life span in all former colonies is appallingly low in comparison with the home countries. In a number of these countries a man lives on the average not more than 35 years which is almost half the span in the countries that held them in colonial enslavement. This is the heritage of the colonial system which is yet to be overcome.

If the home states had really been guided by the interests of the colonial peoples, if they had really rendered them assistance about which they like to talk instead of engaging in plunder and

exploitation, the peoples of the colonies and the home countries would have developed equally and would not have differed so strikingly in the development of the national economy, culture, and welfare. But what kind of a commonwealth is this when the living standards of the Western countries and the colonies stands no comparison. This is not a commonwealth but domination of one over another, with some using the labour and values of others, exploiting and plundering, pumping the national resources into the home countries. The colonial peoples have only one way out of their misery and lack of justice—the elimination of the colonial regime.

The advocates of the colonial regime intimidate the peoples of the home countries alleging that after the elimination of the colonial system the life of the population of industrially developed countries would drastically deteriorate. The groundlessness of such assertions is obvious.

First of all such assertions completely give away their authors who involuntarily admit that the home countries are continuing to plunder the colonies and dependent countries and gain fabulous profits. And this is really so, but it is also known that the superprofits go not to the broad strata of the home country's population but mainly into the pocket of the monopolies. It is not the peoples of the home countries but the millionaires and billionaires who cling to the colonial regime.

Secondly, the experience of the development of many countries that have gained national independence shows convincingly that with the rapid growth of the national economy the internal market in these countries becomes incomparably more capacious, so that they can consume incomparably more industrial products from the more developed countries and at the same time on the basis of the uplift of their productive forces produce more raw materials, various products and goods necessary for the economy of industrially developed countries. This is a more progressive and reasonable system of relations between countries that leads to a further rise in the well-being of the peoples of both the colonial and dependent countries that were economically backward in the past, and the more developed countries.

The entire course of life, of economic and political develop-

ment passes the inexorable judgment of history upon the outdated shameful colonial regime.

Of course, one cannot expect that our proposals regarding the elimination of the colonial regime, which meet the vital interests of mankind, will find sympathy on the part of those who are still clinging to the colonial order. I can hear in advance the critical voice of the defenders of the colonial regime. But we say to those who are accustomed to build their welfare at the expense of the oppressed peoples in the colonies: think it over, take a look at what is going on around you. If not today then soon, very soon, the colonial order will finally perish, and if you do not get out of the way in time you will be swept away. Neither by plots nor by the force of arms can one add life to the doomed colonial regime. All this will only strengthen and embitter the struggle of the peoples against this completely rotten regime.

But the supporters of the colonial regime are growing fewer and fewer even in the colonial powers themselves, and in the long run the last word is not theirs. Therefore we appeal to the sense and foresight of the peoples of the Western countries, to their governments and representatives at this distinguished assembly of the United Nations: let us unite in action aimed at the elimination of the colonial regime and thus accelerate this commutable historical process, and do our utmost so that the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries become able to decide their own fate.

We welcome the sacred struggle of the colonial peoples against the colonialists and for their liberation. If the colonial powers do not heed the voice of reason and continue their old colonial policy of keeping colonial countries in subjugation, the peoples who support the position of eliminating the colonial regime should render all-out assistance to the fighters for their independence against colonialism, against colonial slavery. Moral, material and other assistance should be rendered for the completion of the sacred and just struggle of the peoples for their independence.

The Soviet Union on its part has been rendering assistance to the economically underdeveloped countries and will be rendering such assistance on an ever-growing scale. We sincerely help the peoples of those countries in the establishment of their independent economy, in the development of their national industry

which is the mainstay of real independence and of the uplift of the people's welfare.

Nations who oppress other nations cannot themselves be free. Every free nation should help the peoples still oppressed to win freedom and independence.

May I express the hope that this session of the General Assembly will become an historic landmark on the way to the complete and final elimination of the colonial regime on our planet. This will be an act of great historic importance expressing the aspirations of all nations struggling for national independence, of all progressive mankind.

III. The Disarmament Problem Must Be Solved

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen! Last September on the instructions of the Soviet Government I submitted to the fourteenth session of the UN General Assembly the proposals of the Soviet Union on general and complete disarmament. The enormous destructive power of modern weapons, the unprecedented scope of the arms race, the accumulation by states of huge stockpiles of the weapons of mass extermination all create a threat to the future of mankind and make it imperative to seek an approach, new in principle, to the disarmament problem. Our proposals are the practical expression of such an approach.

One could not but experience a feeling of gratification due to the fact that the ideas raised by us were unanimously approved by the United Nations and received wide support by the peoples of the whole world. Being guided by the resolution of the last session of the General Assembly the Soviet Union together with other states took the most active part in the negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament and bent its efforts in it to elaborate a treaty on general and complete disarmament. Without waiting for an international agreement on the question of disarmament the Soviet Union is implementing unilaterally a reduction of its armed forces by 1,200,000 men, i.e., by one third, which is generally recognized to have contributed to improving the atmosphere for the negotiations on disarmament.

The Soviet Government consistently and determinedly pur-

suing a peaceful policy solemnly declares at this session of the UN General Assembly that the Soviet Union maintains its armed forces only for the defense of our country and for the fulfillment of obligations to our allies and friends in case of aggression against them. The possibility of our armed forces being used for other purposes is ruled out since this would be alien to the very nature of our state and to the fundamental principles of its peaceful foreign policy.

Our country is compelled to maintain armed forces only for the reason that our proposals on complete and general disarmament have not yet been accepted. We shall do everything we can so that general and complete disarmament becomes reality and mankind is saved from the arms race and the threat of a new destructive war.

One year has elapsed since the General Assembly adopted the resolution on general and complete disarmament. By the present pace of life this is comparatively a long period. And there should be no doubt that those who are engaged in the production of arms, in modernizing and designing new death-dealing means have not wasted this time.

But in the sphere of disarmament no progress has been reached in the year that passed. What are the reasons for such a situation about which one has to speak with great regret and serious alarm? Who is hindering the implementation of the General Assembly resolution on general and complete disarmament—this perhaps the most important and outstanding decision in the history of the United Nations? Who is preventing the deadlock in the disarmament problem from being broken?

The facts prove that the lack of any progress in the solution of the disarmament problem is the consequence of the position taken by the United States and some other states connected with it through NATO.

Throughout the work of the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee the Western powers refused to proceed to the working out of an agreement on general and complete disarmament seeking by every possible means to evade a discussion of the substance of the Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament transferred by the General Assembly to the Committee for detailed consideration. On their part they put forward proposals which

provided neither for general nor complete disarmament, nor for disarmament at all, but only for measures of control over armaments, that is, control without disarmament. However, one cannot fail to see that the establishment of control without disarmament would amount to the establishment of a system of international espionage, and not only would it fail to promote the consolidation of peace but might, on the contrary, aid a potential aggressor in carrying out his plans that are dangerous for the peoples.

The danger lies in the fact that the establishment of control over armaments if armaments are retained means in effect that both one and the other side will know the quantities, qualities and deployment of the armaments possessed by the opposing side. Consequently, an aggressor could increase his armaments to a superior level in order to choose a convenient opportunity and launch an attack. We will never accede to control over armaments without disarmament because this would mean encouraging the aggressor. Our goal is to ensure stable peace which can be achieved only through the elimination of armaments and armed forces under strict international control.

Acting contrary to the UN General Assembly resolution the Western powers in the Ten Nation Committee indulged in nothing but meaningless talk about disarmament trying to hinder any possible progress in this matter, and to discredit the idea of general and complete disarmament in the eyes of world public opinion.

The Soviet Government as well as the governments of a number of other states found itself forced to interrupt its participation in the work of the Ten Nation Committee which had been turned by the Western powers into a screen to cover up the arms race. It was not easy for the Soviet Government to take this decision because it was our country that sponsored the question of general and complete disarmament and exerted every effort to come to a constructive solution of this problem in the Committee in complete accord with the General Assembly resolution, but in the existing situation staying in the Committee would only amount to helping the opponents of disarmament. The fact could not be tolerated that the great cause of disarmament was being made an object of speculation for purposes hostile to the interests of universal peace.

That is why the Soviet Government has put the question of disarmament up for consideration by the United Nations General

Assembly, the considerable majority of whose members is in no way interested in the arms race and sincerely wishes its termination. Taking into account the great importance of the disarmament problem and the necessity to make a radical change in the course of negotiations, the Soviet Government voiced the opinion that in considering this question at the General Assembly the Heads of State and Government vested with the necessary power should directly participate. We note with gratification that this attitude was met with due understanding by the governments of quite a number of states whose delegations at the General Assembly are led by the most responsible statesmen of their countries.

Bringing the disarmament question to the plenary meetings of the General Assembly we proceed from the fact that consideration of this question in all its scope should lead, at least, to its solution or, at least, give a more concrete direction to the disarmament negotiations, in which there should now participate alongside those states belonging to the opposing military groupings the states adhering to a neutral course.

Seeking to facilitate the work of the General Assembly and to make the discussion of the disarmament problem more specific the Soviet Government submits for consideration by the General Assembly its proposal "Basic provisions of the Treaty on general and complete disarmament." We request the President of the General Assembly and the UN Secretariat to circulate this proposal among the delegations as an official document of the General Assembly as well as our explanatory memorandum which presents the position of the Soviet Government on the disarmament problem in greater detail.

The new Soviet proposal on the question of general and complete disarmament which has as its basis the provisions of the Soviet Government's proposals of June 2, 1960, which were submitted for the consideration of all the governments of the world has been drawn up with due regard for all the useful points which were made during the past year in the course of the discussion of this question by political and public circles of various countries of the world. In many respects this proposal meets half way the position of the Western powers which, as we hope, will facilitate an early agreement on disarmament.

We now provide, in particular, for the elimination of all

means of delivery of nuclear weapons to their target as early as in the first stage of general and complete disarmament, include a detailed elaboration of measures for effective international control in all the stages and take into account the wishes of some Western powers that the reduction of the strength of the armed forces and conventional armaments should be provided for from the outset. Quite a number of other changes and modifications were brought into our programme. All these changes, in our opinion, make the programme of general and complete disarmament more concrete and even more realistic and practicable.

The detailed elaboration of the Agreement on general and complete disarmament is, of course, a complicated task for the solution of which all the participants in negotiations should exert much effort and labour. Various questions may arise in the course of this work the solution of which would demand flexibility and realistic appraisal of the international situation.

But we should all be aware that no flexibility will help the solution of the disarmament problem and all the efforts and labour devoted to this aim will, as hitherto, be wasted if not all the participants in the negotiations are guided by a sincere desire to realize mankind's eternal dream of disarmament.

However, such a desire was obviously lacking in the Ten Nation Committee insofar as the USA and its NATO partners were concerned. So far, there is still no evidence that they have such a desire. In this connection one cannot ignore the new attempts to sidetrack the whole matter which were undertaken by the USA not long before the General Assembly started its work. Is it not clear to everybody that the USA pursued precisely this aim when it tried to get the convocation of the UN Disarmament Commission only a few weeks before the opening of the General Assembly session? The experience of the work in the Ten Nation Committee showed that there arose difficulties in the negotiations in the Committee on practical problems of disarmament as a result of the unwillingness of the Western powers to solve the disarmament problem. The proposals of the Soviet Union submitted for consideration by the Ten Nation Committee are widely known and have been appreciated by world public opinion as quite clear and realistic. It is necessary to emphasize that they took into account some wishes and proposals of the Western powers. Neverthe-

less Mr. Lodge, the US representative in the United Nations Disarmament Commission, alleged that the Soviet Union was proposing buying a pig in a poke. In this case one may wonder whether Mr. Lodge, like the hero of oriental fairy tales, has not put himself into a poke which prevents him from seeing what is well seen and understood by all.

We were also surprised by another statement by Mr. Lodge who opposed submitting the disarmament question for consideration by this session of the General Assembly. He said he believed that world public opinion should hear all this and hear it in such a forum as this Commission which dealt exclusively with disarmament and not merely hear it all at the General Assembly where it would be but one of more than 80 items.

I am personally acquainted with Mr. Lodge and knowing that for many years he represented the interests of the United States of America in the United Nations I am surprised that he is of so low an opinion of his own labour. However, that may be precisely the reason, since Mr. Lodge has become so accustomed to the questions under discussion at the General Assembly that he counts them by scores and hastens to refer them to an auxiliary body so as to hide them from public opinion in a poke.

We regard with respect all the commissions of the United Nations but for us the United Nations General Assembly is the most representative and authoritative forum of the peoples. We hope that the representatives of states of all continents present here do not share such a point of view and will not consider the disarmament question as a 79th problem. This is the cardinal question which agitates the whole of humanity, and it is strange that this is not realized by the representative of the United States of America at the United Nations.

Even less disguised attempts were made in the UN Disarmament Commission to channel the negotiations on disarmament in such a direction that thereafter no solution of this problem can be found. How otherwise can be evaluated the proposals of the USA put forward in the UN Disarmament Commission to the effect that the USA and the USSR should each transfer under international supervision 30 thousand kilograms of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons purposes—this, by the way, was also repeated by the President of the United States yesterday—or that these

countries should start closing down, one after another, plants producing such materials for military purposes?

Only an ignorant person can believe that these proposals are aimed at reducing the threat of nuclear war. Indeed, the US proposals do not provide either for elimination of nuclear weapons or destruction of their stockpiles or even the prohibition of their use. They provide for the removal of certain amounts of fissionable materials from the existing stockpiles of these materials which have been accumulated by states for military use. It is well known, however, that at present the existing stockpiles of fissionable materials are so huge that they are more than enough to annihilate whole countries and peoples. It is no accident that when putting forward its proposals the USA kept silent about the quantity of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials for their future manufacture that will remain at its disposal after the allotment of 30 thousand kilograms. If they had mentioned this, it would be even more evident that such a step would not substantially alleviate the threat of nuclear war.

The Soviet Government is deeply convinced that only a radical solution of the disarmament problem which would provide for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons together with the cessation of their manufacture and tests and the destruction of all accumulated stockpiles of these weapons can fully accord with the task of delivering mankind from the threat of nuclear war looming over it. That is precisely the goal which the Soviet Union is trying to achieve, persistently and resolutely advocating general and complete disarmament.

All this, in our opinion, leads to an important conclusion: to break the deadlock in the disarmament problem at last, the General Assembly should call to order those who impede the solution of the disarmament problem, who try to supplant businesslike negotiations on disarmament with meaningless beatings about the bush.

Objectively appraising the situation and the correlation of forces existing in the world the Soviet Government is deeply convinced that disarmament in our time is not only necessary but possible. The struggle for peace has now become a great banner mobilizing the peoples. Even those governments which,

as before, are suffering from an inclination to the "cold war" policy and to the armaments race cannot afford to ignore it.

The United Nations has no other, more important and urgent task than to contribute to the cause of disarmament becoming a real fact and promoting at last the initiation of practical deeds, namely: the return of soldiers to their homes, the destruction of weapons including nuclear weapons and means of their delivery.

A great aim is worth great effort. The Soviet Government expresses the hope that all the states concerned about consolidating peace will exert their energy and will spare no effort to solve the disarmament problem, this most important problem of today. There can be no doubt that the peoples, the world over, will greatly appreciate the decision of the United Nations General Assembly on the disarmament question.

IV. Peaceful Co-existence Is the Only Sensible Path for Developing International Relations in Our Time

Ladies and gentlemen! The peoples of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government are unfailingly striving for the principles of peaceful co-existence to be firmly established in relations between states, for these principles to become the cardinal law of life everywhere in present-day society. Underlying these principles is not some "gimmick" invented by the communists but simple things dictated by life itself, namely that relations between all states should develop in a peaceful way, without resort to force, without wars, without interference in the internal affairs of one another.

I will not disclose a secret by saying that we entertain no liking for capitalism. But we do not want to foist our system upon other countries. So let those, who determine the policy of states whose social system differs from ours, also abandon their fruitless and dangerous attempts to dictate their will. It is high time for them too to admit that the choice of a way of life is the internal concern of every people. Let us build up our relations taking into consideration the actual facts of reality. This will mean peaceful co-existence.

One cannot disregard the fact that a force, much greater than a wish, a will or the decisions of any government, is acting in

favour of the policy of peaceful co-existence. This force is the desire which is natural and common for humanity, to avert the calamities of war in which all the unprecedented means of mass extermination, accumulated in the course of recent years, would be used. It stands to reason that acceptance of the principles of peaceful co-existence does not mean that it is necessary to begin building up relations between states on a completely new basis. In fact, peaceful co-existence is already a reality and has found international recognition. The proof of this is that the General Assembly has twice in the recent period adopted resolutions reaffirming the need for peaceful co-existence. Whether they want it or not, even those states whose governments still do not want to voice their approval of the ideas of peaceful co-existence, are forced to practice them in many respects.

In fact, the question now is how to make peaceful co-existence secure, how to prevent departures from it which now and then give rise to dangerous international conflicts. In other words, as I have already said once, the choice we have is not great: it is either peaceful co-existence which would promote the best human ideals or else co-existence "at dagger's point."

If one is to speak about the actual shape of peaceful co-existence one might point to the relations maintained by the socialist countries with the new states of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have set themselves free from the oppression of colonialism and embarked upon the path of independent policy. Typical of such relations are friendship, great mutual sympathy and respect, economic and technical assistance to less developed countries without any political or military strings attached. The relations of the countries of the socialist camp with neutral capitalist states such as, for instance, Finland, Austria, Afghanistan, Sweden and others can also be cited as another good example.

I think the ideas of peaceful co-existence may triumph even in those countries whose governments have not yet abandoned either hostile acts against the socialist states or rude pressure on non-committed states which pursue an independent policy. In these countries too the realization is growing of the danger of the "cold war" policy and the folly of balancing on the brink of the precipice.

When I was last in the United States I met statesmen, businessmen, workers and farmers, scientists and trade union leaders. These meetings had for me, and also, I think, for the people I met, great importance. My conviction has grown that the American people do not want war, that in the highest strata of the American society there are people who deeply understand the necessity to live in peace and rule out war from the life of mankind, people who are able to go against deeply rooted prejudices.

I left the United States with the thought that there exist practical possibilities to remove from the relations between our states the gloomy shadows of suspicion, fear and distrust, that the Soviet Union and the United States could go hand in hand in the name of consolidating peace and establishing effective international co-operation of all states. I must say that this conviction was not shaken despite all that took place between the United States and the Soviet Union in the recent months. In our time it would be sheer nonsense if the two most powerful nations could not come to terms between themselves. This should be done at least in virtue of the great importance of the relations between the USSR and the USA for the destinies of the world. The Soviet Government is ready to go on doing its best to improve relations between our country and the United States of America.

The policy of peaceful co-existence presupposes willingness to solve all outstanding issues without resort to force by means of negotiations and reasonable concessions. Everyone knows that during the years of the "cold war" such questions chiefly did not find their solution which led to the creation of dangerous hotbeds of tension in Europe, Asia and in other parts of the world as well.

The international knots which are the heritage of the Second World War are still entangled. First and foremost among them stands the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution on this basis of the crucial question of West Berlin. If a peace treaty with Germany has not so far been concluded this is completely on the conscience of the governments of the Western powers which to speak without beating about the bush have been sabotaging this problem in the course of many years. These governments have got into the habit of outright rejection of all the Soviet Union's proposals on a German peace treaty while at the

same time they themselves over the fifteen years that have elapsed since the war did not find a suitable occasion to come forward with their own proposals in this respect.

As a result of this the situation in Europe remains unstable, fraught with the danger of acute conflicts. The absence of a peace treaty can gladden most of all the revanchist and militarist forces in West Germany. They are taking advantage of this so as step by step to move forward towards the realization of their purposes which are dangerous for the cause of peace. At the time of the war in Korea when the relations between the great powers were aggravated they came forward with the question of creating the Bundeswehr and succeeded in this. Today we are the witnesses of agitation by the ruling circles of the FRG who hope that the present tense moment will allow them to pocket nuclear and rocket weapons.

Despite the fact that the scheduled summit conference which was to have considered among others the question of a peace treaty with Germany was disrupted, we believe that there exist objective conditions for an agreed solution of questions left open after the last war. As we have already stated the Soviet Government is prepared to wait a while with the solution of the question of a German peace treaty to try to achieve agreement on this treaty at the summit conference which the Soviet Union has proposed be held in a few months' time. We would like to hope that the Soviet Union's efforts in this direction will be supported also by the governments of the USA, Great Britain and France.

The Soviet Union believes that the solution of the Korean question is most essential for the consolidation of peace in the Far East and in the whole world.

Only madmen can contemplate solving the Korean question through the use of armed force.

The sole correct proposal—to leave the solution of the question of the peaceful reunification of Korea to the Koreans themselves without any interference from outside—finds ever growing recognition. The necessary condition for this is the immediate and complete withdrawal of all American troops from South Korea whose presence poisons the atmosphere not only in Korea, but in

the whole of the Far East and made possible such shameful facts as the falsification of elections in South Korea.

The proposal of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic about a confederation of North and South Korea is as reasonable as the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic on setting up a confederation between the two German states. This is the only way to a good start for the peaceful reunification of these states.

During the recent years at sharp turns of international life the peaceful states were compelled more than once to come forward in defense of the just cause and to take effective measures to direct developments into a peaceful channel. The United Nations helped to rebuff the aggressors who made attempts upon the freedom and rights of Egypt, it helped to call to order the interventionists in Lebanon and Jordan. We would like to hope that the United Nations will successfully accomplish the responsible tasks dictated by the world situation which is still disturbing.

The experience of the work of the United Nations has demonstrated that this body is useful and necessary because in it are represented all states which are called upon to resolve the pressing issues of international relationships by negotiations so as not to bring them to such a state that conflicts and wars might break out. This is a positive aspect in the work of the United Nations. This, indeed, constituted the main objective in the creation of the United Nations.

In the course of the United Nations activities, however, some of its negative aspects also came to light. These negative aspects found their expression in the fact that so far certain countries succeed in imposing their will and their policy in the solution of specific matters in the United Nations to the detriment of other states. This does not further the basic goal of this Organization, does not promote the adoption of such decisions as would reflect the interests of all the countries making up the United Nations.

The executive machinery of the Organization is also constituted partially. It often approaches the solution of questions from the standpoint of a certain group of countries. This is particularly true of the activities of the United Nations Secretary General. As a rule the Western countries that make up the military blocs of

the Western powers exploit this post in their interests by nominating for the post of United Nations Secretary General a candidate that is acceptable to themselves. The result is that in many cases the practical routine work of the United Nations and of its Secretariat is in effect carried out one-sidedly. The personnel of the Organization is picked one-sidedly as well.

Partiality in the implementation of practical measures on the part of the United Nations was particularly manifested in the events that flared up in the Congo. Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General, in implementing the decisions of the Security Council, in effect sided with the colonialists and with the countries that support the colonialists. This is a very dangerous thing.

We have come to the firm conclusion that the time has come to create conditions for more effective work both of the United Nations as a whole and of this Organization's executive working body. I repeat, the matter concerns primarily the Secretary-General and his staff. The necessity of certain changes and improvements should particularly be borne in mind in the light of the immediate future.

For instance, we are now conducting negotiations on disarmament. For the time being the United States and its allies are doing their utmost to resist general and complete disarmament, and are seeking all sorts of pettifogging pretexts to thwart or at least to stave off indefinitely the solution of the disarmament question. But we believe that common sense will prevail and sooner or later all states will influence those who resist a reasonable solution of the disarmament problem. Therefore the United Nations machinery should now be adapted to the conditions that will come into being in the course of the implementation of a disarmament decision.

An identical point of view has materialized in our proposals as well as in those of the countries making up the NATO military alignment regarding the necessity to follow up agreement on disarmament with the creation of armed forces of all countries under international control to be used by the United Nations as decided by the Security Council.

The Soviet Government believes that if the question of utilizing these international armed forces is approached correctly they

really can be useful. But the experience of the Congo puts us on our guard. This experience indicates that the United Nations forces are being used precisely in the way against which we warned and which we resolutely oppose. The Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold, has taken the stand of merely formal condemnation of the colonialists. In actual practice, however, he is pursuing the line of the colonialists, is opposing the legitimate Government of the Congo and the Congolese people, is supporting the renegades who, under the guise of fighting for the independence of the Republic of the Congo are in fact continuing the policy of the colonialists and are apparently getting remuneration from them for their treachery.

What is to be done in this case? If this is the way in which the international armed forces will in practice be used, that is, to suppress the liberation movement, then under such conditions it will naturally be difficult to reach agreement on the creation of international armed forces since there will be no guarantees of their not being used for reactionary purposes alien to the interests of peace. Provision should be made to guard against any state falling into the same predicament in which the Republic of the Congo now finds itself. We are sure that other states also understand this danger. Such solutions should therefore be sought as would exclude similar occurrences in the future.

The Soviet Government has come to a definite conclusion on this point and wishes to expound its point of view at the United Nations General Assembly. Conditions have obviously matured when the post of the Secretary-General—who alone governs the staff and alone interprets and executes the decisions of the Security Council and sessions of the United Nations General Assembly—should be abolished. It is expedient to renounce the system under which all the practical work in the period between General Assembly sessions and Security Council meetings is determined by the Secretary-General alone.

The executive body of the United Nations should reflect the actual situation that obtains in the world today. The United Nations includes states parties to the military blocs of the Western powers, socialist states and neutralist countries. This would therefore be completely justified, and we would be guaranteed to a

greater extent against the negative developments which came to light in the work of the United Nations especially during the recent events in the Congo.

We consider it reasonable and just for the executive body of the United Nations to be constituted not as one person—the Secretary-General—but as three representatives of the states belonging to the three basic above-mentioned groups who could be invested with the lofty trust of the United Nations. The crux of the matter is not even in the name of this body but in that this executive body should represent the states parties to the military blocs of the Western powers, the socialist states, and the neutralist states. This composition of the United Nations executive body will create conditions for a more correct implementation of the decisions taken.

In brief we consider it expedient to set up instead of a Secretary-General who is presently the interpreter and executor of the Assembly and Security Council decisions a collective executive body of the United Nations comprising three persons each of whom would represent a certain group of states. A definite guarantee would thereby be created that the work of the United Nations Executive would not be conducted to the detriment of any of these groups of states. Then the United Nations executive will really be a democratic body, it will really safeguard the interests of all United Nations member states irrespective of the social and political systems of the various states making up the United Nations. This is particularly necessary at the present time, and will be the more so in the future.

There exist other inconveniences as well which the United Nations members are now experiencing. These inconveniences are caused by the location of the United Nations Organization. It would seem that the United States of America which calls itself a free democratic country should do its utmost to facilitate the work of the United Nations, to create all necessary conditions for the representatives of states constituting this organization. Practice shows, however, that the United States restricts and curtails the rights of the representatives of various states. Facts are known, for instance, of the representatives of young African and Asian

states being subjected to racial discrimination in the United States and, moreover, to attacks by gangsters.

The representatives of the United States authorities explain the various restrictions of the rights of representatives of states in the United Nations by the fact that it is allegedly difficult for them to ensure their security. I wish to emphasize that we are of a better opinion of the hospitality of the American people than that which may result from such statements and restrictions. But these statements cannot be overlooked and, likewise, the inconveniences cannot fail to be taken into account which are put in the way of the work of the United Nations in these instances.

The question arises of whether or not thought should be given to the choice of another locale for the United Nations Headquarters which would better facilitate the effective work of this international organization. Switzerland or Austria might well be such a place, for example. I can declare in all responsibility that if it should be considered expedient to house the United Nations Headquarters in the Soviet Union we guarantee the best possible conditions for its work, complete freedom and security for the representatives of all states irrespective of their political or religious convictions, and of the colour of their skin since in our country the sovereign rights of all states, the equality of all nations, big and small, are held in high esteem.

You all know that in the past the Soviet Government supported the proposal that the United States of America be chosen as the locale of the United Nations. However, recent developments show that the United States is evidently irked and burdened by this. Then perhaps the release of the United States from such a burden should be contemplated.

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Ladies and Gentlemen: Addressing the delegates to the United Nations General Assembly with proposals on these essentially important questions of our time the Soviet Government would like to stress their specific, extraordinary significance for the destiny of the world.

The importance of the disarmament problem requires no

special proof. This question is of such vital importance that it, certainly, has to be discussed at the plenary session of the General Assembly.

The question of the elimination of the colonial regime is also so vital that the necessity of its discussion at the plenary session of the General Assembly will apparently meet with full understanding by all the delegates.

We believe that especial importance has been acquired by the question of the aggressive actions of the United States against the Soviet Union which found their expression in the despatch of American planes into Soviet air space. This is a fact which by itself goes beyond the limits of the relations between states admissible in time of peace. But this question assumes particular importance also for the reason that the President of the United States, Mr. Eisenhower, himself declared the aggressive flights of the American planes a normal business allegedly necessary for the security of the United States. At the same time the US Government arbitrarily assumed the right to send such planes in future. This is why since the matter concerns the violation of the sovereign rights not only of the Soviet Union but of other states as well the question of aggressive actions of the United States must be dealt with by the United Nations at its plenary session.

The continuation of such actions and especially their interpretation by the US President as state policy can at any moment plunge mankind into a third world war. Therefore, I repeat, it is the opinion of the Soviet Government that this question as well as the questions of disarmament and the elimination of colonialism must be discussed at the plenary session of the United Nations General Assembly and not in the Committees.

The matter concerns the representatives of the overwhelming majority of states of the world expressing at this session of the General Assembly their opinions on the cardinal problems which today agitate public opinion and all people on earth who are interested in the further development of freedom and democracy and yearn for peace for themselves and their children.

The Soviet Government hopes that the questions submitted for consideration at the present United Nations Assembly will

meet with support and understanding, since they are motivated by the sincere desire to secure a better life and tranquillity on our planet.

Indeed, man lives and works in order to put to good use all his strength, all his faculties and his possibilities. The world in our time is diversified but at the same time it is one. We live on the same planet and it will depend on us in what way we shall arrange affairs on it.

Man's mind works wonders today. Tomorrow even more boundless prospects will be revealed in the field of science and technology. The question is one of the great scientific achievements of our age being harnessed to the good of the peoples.

I think you will share my opinion that the attention of hundreds of millions of people is focused today on the General Assembly hall. What do the peoples of many countries of the world expect from us? A just and honest decision on the crucial problems of our time. Peoples may be mistaken in their choice of governments. One or another historical situation may lead to injustice in any country. But, however complicated the internal relationships in states may be, people are apt to hope and believe in the best. People want to live and prosper, and the main thing is that they want their children to possess more and live better.

That is why we all, and I am saying this on behalf of the Soviet people, should be inspired with the understanding of our high and particular mission. Mankind has advanced so far ahead that it cannot tolerate in its life the remnants of the grim reactionary past. Mankind has advanced so far ahead that it realizes the deep and grave danger of misusing scientific discoveries for the sake of the arms race.

So let us leave to our successors, our children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren good memories of our time. Let them take the men of our time as an example and say: once the inhabitants of the earth had complicated and most difficult problems. And they, having come together at the United Nations Assembly, resolved them, succeeded in settling them in the name of a better future.

So let us act in such a way as to make the fifteenth session of

the United Nations General Assembly become an Assembly not only of hope but of the realization of hopes.

The Soviet Government is ready to do its utmost so that colonial slavery should collapse today, that today questions of disarmament should find their concrete and businesslike solution.

The Soviet Government is ready to do its utmost to achieve today the prohibition of the nuclear weapons tests so that this means of mass extermination can be banned and destroyed.

It could be said that these are complicated questions, which cannot be solved at one go. But these are questions presented by life and they must be settled before it is too late. The solution of these questions cannot be evaded.

Concluding my address I wish to emphasize once again that the Soviet Government, guided by the interests of the Soviet people, by the interests of the citizens of the free socialist state, once again is proposing to all: let us talk, argue, but let us solve the questions of general and complete disarmament. Let us bury colonialism that has been condemned by mankind.

No further delay is tolerable, no further procrastination can be tolerated. The peoples of all states, irrespective of the social systems of these states, are expecting the United Nations General Assembly at last to adopt decisions meeting the aspiration of the peoples.

Thank you.

September 23, 1960

Statement of the USSR Government on Disarmament

Submitted for Consideration by the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly

The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has submitted for consideration by the General Assembly of the United Nations the question of disarmament and of the state of affairs as regards the implementation of the resolution of the previous session of the General Assembly on this question.

The disarmament problem is the cardinal problem of today on whose solution largely, if not chiefly, depends the preservation of peace. This is now recognized by all states. At the same time the Soviet Government is deeply concerned over the failure thus far to make any headway in the settlement of this problem.

Today the states have already stockpiled and continue stockpiling huge quantities of nuclear weapons and the means of their delivery to the target in any part of the world. This in itself gravely endangers peace since among the countries possessing nuclear weapons there are those which proclaim brinkmanship and gross violations of the sovereignty of other states as their state policy without stopping short of such methods as are usually employed in wartime.

At a time when the states possess huge stockpiles of nuclear weapons every new step in the arms race enhances the danger of the so-called accidental outbreak of war as well. Inaccuracies in the work of the radar system can lead to misinterpretation of the radar signals which may result in a start of military operations and, consequently, in unprecedented disaster. A misunderstanding of orders by pilots who, according to the United States Government, make routine bomber flights carrying atomic weapons may lead to these bombs being dropped on the territory of another state with all the ensuing consequences. Malfunctioning of electronic devices in military nuclear rocket systems may also set off the chain reaction of war conflict.

If the nuclear arms race continues, it will be more and more difficult to prevent such "accidents."

The arms race is one of the major factors increasing distrust and suspicion in the relations between states and poisoning the world atmosphere. The "cold war" hated by the peoples is a product of the arms race, hampers its elimination and makes the arms race all the more dangerous for states and peoples.

The ending of the arms race is a way toward the consolidation of peace. The solution of the disarmament problem would also yield great economic gains. Disarmament would release enormous material and financial values which could be used for the good of mankind.

Over a hundred billion dollars has again been burnt in the huge furnace of war preparations in the one year that has elapsed since the fourteenth session of the United Nations General Assembly which unanimously approved the idea of general and complete disarmament. Simple calculations show that these resources would be enough to bring about a radical technical and economic reconstruction of the entire African continent. This money could be used to feed hundreds of millions of starving people for a year; only one per cent of the total sum of the military outlays of states would be enough to build more than a hundred fully equipped universities in countries which are greatly in need of highly qualified specialists. The money spent on the building of a single American nuclear powered submarine would suffice to build at least 50 houses with 100 flats each or 10,000 cottages. Such are the losses sustained by humanity due to the arms race!

Taking into account the fact that for many years the negotiations on isolated disarmament measures were invariably deadlocked by the Western powers, a year ago, at the fourteenth session of the UN General Assembly the Soviet Union proposed an entirely new approach to the solution of this problem, and put forward *the idea of general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control.*

Life itself has prompted the raising of the question of general and complete disarmament, as in the age of nuclear weapons and powerful rockets partial or halfway disarmament measures cannot fully eliminate the danger of war.

Only general and complete disarmament can ensure the solution of this great problem. Only general and complete disarmament can secure lasting peace and tranquillity for mankind.

In raising the question of general and complete disarmament the Soviet Union which is today generally recognized to be one of the mightiest military powers of the world was proposing on its own initiative to forego this military might forever, to eliminate it completely, provided other Great Powers follow suit. If the United States, Great Britain, France and the other Western powers are ready to do so, it only remains to agree on how better to translate this into reality. But if they are not ready it means that their statements that they desire peace and that they need armaments only for defense against possible aggression are not to be believed.

Therein lay the core of the Soviet Union's proposal on general and complete disarmament.

The new approach to the solution of the disarmament problem stems from the very nature of our country's socialist system. Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, used to say that disarmament is an ideal of socialism. Indeed, the socialist states do not need armaments for any other purposes except defense against possible attack from the outside and ensuring the preservation of peace throughout the world. The Soviet Armed Forces have not and cannot have any other objectives, for the foreign policy of socialism is a peaceful and humane foreign policy. And if the Western powers agreed to the renunciation of armed forces and armaments, to the elimination of the means of waging war the socialist states would have no need whatsoever for armed forces and armaments and there would be no reasons for maintaining rocket troops, army, navy, air force and anti-aircraft defense. None of these is needed for the successful building of communism in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Our lands are rich in natural resources, our people like to work, science and technology render good service to our cause.

War is not needed for the triumph of communism, since the struggle for the communist ideas is waged not between states but between the classes inside each state. It is a slander on socialist countries to accuse them of trying to impose their ideas on other peoples and other states by means of war.

At the fourteenth session the Soviet Government did not confine itself to raising the question of general and complete dis-

armament; at the same time it placed before the United Nations a concrete programme for such disarmament.

Trying to facilitate as much as possible the settlement of the disarmament problem, and to create an atmosphere conducive to negotiations on this problem the Supreme Soviet of the USSR made a decision to reduce the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union by 1,200,000 men, i.e. by one-third. This decision is being scrupulously carried out.

Now that a year has passed since the Soviet Union put forward the question of general and complete disarmament it can be said with certitude that the idea of general and complete disarmament has been supported by all peoples who want this idea to be realized as soon as possible. And this is but natural since the peoples of all countries—not only socialist but capitalist alike—want peace, want to see the world free of armaments and free of wars between states. Neither the Soviet people, nor the American, British, French, Chinese people, nor the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America and Australia want war.

The will of the peoples for peace found its expression in the resolution of the last session of the General Assembly on general and complete disarmament which, as you all remember, was adopted unanimously: not a single state opposed the resolution, all of them supported it. Even those states which were stepping up the armaments race and continue to do so, and which, as experience has proved, did not intend, in fact, to give up the brink of war policy, did not dare at the time to voice open opposition to general and complete disarmament.

The General Assembly declared in its resolution that the question of general and complete disarmament is the most important question facing the world today, called upon the governments to make every effort to reach a constructive solution of this problem and expressed the hope that measures for general and complete disarmament under effective international control would be worked out in detail and agreed upon at an early date. This laid down the general line of disarmament negotiations. It was decided to conduct the negotiations within the framework of the Ten Nation Committee.

The peoples of the world reposed their best hopes in those negotiations. They wanted to believe that now all states, and par-

ticularly the Great Powers possessing the most powerful weapons, would find a new approach to the disarmament problem and agree at last on its practical solution.

A year has passed since that time. Unfortunately it has to be stated that this year was lost insofar as disarmament is concerned. This is an alarming result which cannot and must not be ignored.

What has happened? Why did it prove impossible to take a single step forward towards the implementation of the said resolution though a year has already passed since its adoption by the General Assembly? Why did the negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee on Disarmament fail to produce any positive results?

One should turn to the facts to answer these questions. And the facts prove that again, as in the past, two opposing lines, two positions have clearly and definitely emerged in the course of the negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee.

One of them was in line with the demands of the peoples for an early settlement of the disarmament problem. The other one was in direct contradiction with those demands and was a poorly camouflaged attempt to prevent disarmament.

The line of militating for general and complete disarmament was pursued in the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee by the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, i.e. by the socialist states. The line of opposing the solution of the disarmament problem was followed by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Canada, i.e. by the Western powers—members of the North Atlantic military bloc.

Our position in the course of the negotiations was crystal clear: the socialist states proposed to get down to business as soon as possible, to start the practical solution of the problem, to discuss in a businesslike way a programme of general and complete disarmament and to work out an appropriate treaty.

The stand taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries was flexible throughout the negotiations. The delegations of these countries in the Committee expressed their readiness to hear with due attention and respect all the remarks, proposals and considerations of the Western powers with regard to the Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament that would be aimed at a speedy settlement of this vital task. The

Soviet Government has proved its readiness by its deeds. It was prepared to consider any other realistic programme for disarmament.

When we learned from the conversations with the President of France, General de Gaulle, that the French Government thought it advisable to start disarmament with the elimination of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target, the Soviet Government treated the idea in all seriousness and having given it thorough thought made a substantial amendment to the programme of general and complete disarmament. The amended programme provided for all the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target being eliminated in the first stage of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government agreed to this, being guided by the desire to facilitate agreement, though it is common knowledge that the Soviet Union has superiority in the most effective modern means of delivery of nuclear weapons, namely in intercontinental ballistic missiles.

The Soviet Government met the Western powers halfway in a number of other questions as well.

The United States and the Western powers sought from the Soviet Union a more specific and detailed description of the control system in our programme of general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government took into account this consideration also. The amended Soviet proposals set forth comprehensively and with many details a plan for the establishment of a control system and the implementation of strict international control over all disarmament measures. Now no one can assert, unless he wants to contradict the facts, that the Soviet Union is evading the establishment of strict international control over measures for general and complete disarmament. It goes without saying that at the same time the Soviet Government is in favour of control over disarmament while strongly objecting to all attempts to impose control over armaments, i.e. control without disarmament which, as every one will understand, would merely be a legalized system of international espionage.

After all, the establishment of control over armaments, if armaments are retained, means, in effect, that both one and the other side will know the quantities, qualities, and deployment of the armaments possessed by the opposing side. Consequently, an

aggressor could increase his armaments to a superior level in order to choose a convenient opportunity and launch an attack. We will never accede to control over armaments without disarmament, because this would mean encouraging the aggressor. Our goal is the winning of stable peace which can be achieved only through the elimination of armaments and armed forces under strict international control.

For instance, in case agreement is reached on the destruction, in the first stage, of all means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target, on the dismantling of foreign military bases on the territories of alien states, and the withdrawal of foreign troops from those territories, then appropriate measures for control over the carrying out of these arrangements should also be worked out.

The same applies to the subsequent stages of disarmament.

Such is the stand of the USSR as regards the questions of general and complete disarmament under effective international control which the Soviet Government took in the course of negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee and still adheres to. No one can deny that this is a positive stand prompted by the desire to reach agreement on general and complete disarmament as soon as possible.

Yet all the efforts made by the Soviet Union and other socialist states to have the Ten Nation Committee act in accordance with the General Assembly resolution and take up the task of a practical solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament ran, as it were, against a stone wall of opposition on the part of the United States and other Western powers. Our partners in the negotiations stubbornly refused to start the elaboration of a treaty on general and complete disarmament and in every way dodged a discussion of the substance of the Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament. For the outside world they say "yes" on disarmament questions, but when it comes to the consideration of the disarmament question as such, they make every effort to prevent agreement on disarmament.

The United States of America for its part made proposals which provided for neither general, nor complete disarmament, nor any disarmament at all, but only measures of control over armaments, which is in fact, tantamount to control without disarmament. This wholly applies to the so-called "western plan" of

March 16, 1960 and the so-called "new" American proposals which were put forward by the United States when the Ten Nation Committee had already suspended its work.

What then did the Western powers propose? They proposed control over rockets, control over satellites, control over atomic industry, control over the deployment of armed forces, financial control, ground control, control by means of aerial photography—and all this with the states retaining all their armed forces and armaments including nuclear weapons and all means of their delivery to the target. The question, when framed in such a way, may be of interest to those who while hatching military gambles are concerned about collecting secret information on the armed forces and armaments of other states, but has nothing to do with disarmament. One cannot but see that the establishment of control without disarmament would not only fail to contribute to the consolidation of peace but would on the contrary make it easier for a potential aggressor to realize his plans which present danger for the peoples.

But the Western powers in the Ten Nation Committee did not wish to discuss anything except control without disarmament. As the only specific measure for the first stage, beyond control, they proposed that the strength of the armed forces of the USA and the USSR be limited to the level of 2,500,000 men though it is known that this is precisely the present strength of the United States armed forces whereas the Soviet armed forces will number 2,423,000 men on the completion of a unilateral reduction by one third, i.e. even less than proposed by the Western powers. Then why was the proposal about the levels of 2,500,000 men made at all?

It is difficult to evaluate this attitude otherwise than as the unwillingness of the Western powers to agree to disarmament.

Not only did the Western powers reject a businesslike discussion in the Ten Nation Committee of the Soviet programme of general and complete disarmament, not only did they put forward no proposals of their own which would accord with the demands of the resolution of the General Assembly on general and complete disarmament, but they even went back on their own proposals as soon as they were accepted by the Soviet Union.

It has to be stated, for instance, that though France put

forward a proposal to begin disarmament with the elimination of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target, its representative in the Committee of ten in fact took the line of abandoning this proposal as soon as it was accepted by the Soviet Union, and began advocating not the elimination of the means of delivery but only control over them. One need not be a specialist to understand the difference in principle between the elimination, destruction of rockets, military aircraft, warships and other means of delivering nuclear weapons to their target, and the establishment of control over them.

The fact that the French Government changed its view as regards giving priority to the elimination of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target is all the more incomprehensible since it is well known that in rocketry, that is in the most advanced means of delivery, France is far from being the first. The time is not far off when she can be outstripped even by West Germany which the Pentagon intends to supply with strategic rockets. Consequently, if agreement were reached on the elimination of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target, France, far from standing to lose, would on the contrary, gain inasmuch as she would be on a par with the other powers which are ahead of her now as far as the means of delivery are concerned. There arises a legitimate question: are not NATO commitments more important for France than the settlement of the disarmament problem?

It is obvious that with the USA and its allies taking a negative stand as regards general and complete disarmament, the Ten Nation Committee was not able to do any fruitful work towards the implementation of the resolution of the General Assembly. Moreover, from a body for negotiation on disarmament it began to turn into its exact opposite: an instrument covering up the continuation of the arms race.

Suffice it to say that while the Ten Nation Committee was holding talks on disarmament, military appropriations continued to grow in the United States, the construction of American nuclear-rocket bases was stepped up in Britain, Italy and a number of other states, a new military treaty with the USA was imposed on Japan against the will of her people, preparations began for supplying the West German revenge seekers and militarists

with "Polaris' 'strategic nuclear rockets, and steps were taken to expand the production of chemical and bacteriological weapons of mass extermination. In other Western countries—members of NATO—the arms race was given a new impetus as well.

All that was being carried out with the Ten Nation Committee being used as a screen. On the one hand, the arms race was being stepped up, war preparations on an ever growing scale were going on at a feverish pace, and on the other, allegations were being made in the Ten Nation Committee about a desire for disarmament, for continued negotiations. It was becoming more and more apparent that the USA and its NATO allies sought, as before, to drown the disarmament problem in futile disputes.

Under the circumstances, the Soviet Union and other socialist states found themselves faced with the problem of whether there was any sense at all in the further work of the Committee. After giving due consideration to the situation that was created through the fault of the USA and its allies the Soviet Government could not but draw the conclusion that it was necessary to interrupt its participation in the work of the Ten Nation Committee and to raise the question of the necessity of considering the disarmament problem at the General Assembly. The same conclusion was arrived at by the other socialist states—members of the Committee.

It was not easy for the Soviet Government to make such a decision, for it was precisely the Soviet Government that had put forward a programme of general and complete disarmament, it was the Soviet Government that sought to display maximum flexibility in the course of the negotiations and worked persistently for the negotiations to be effective and to make progress. Notwithstanding all this, it had to take this step. To do otherwise would be helping those who do not want disarmament, those who are still pushing the world to war.

Now that the United States and its allies have brought the disarmament negotiations in the Ten Nation Committee to an impasse, the General Assembly should give the present situation due consideration and take appropriate measures with a view to removing all obstacles in the way of solving the disarmament problem. To achieve this it is necessary to declare bluntly and plainly on behalf of all the states of the world to those who hamper the negotiations on disarmament:

It is high time to put an end to maneuverings and delays, the solution of the disarmament problem cannot be postponed any longer, the elaboration of a treaty on general and complete disarmament cannot be put off any more!

To expedite the solution of the disarmament problem the Soviet Government is submitting to the General Assembly its proposal entitled "Basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament" which is appended to this statement. The Soviet Government believes that this proposal provides a good basis for the elaboration and conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament. In this proposal the Soviet Government is going still further to meet the Western powers and takes into account their attitude on some major points including their pronouncements that *it would be advisable, beginning with the first stage, to couple measures for nuclear disarmament with measures to reduce armed forces and conventional armaments.* To this end the Soviet Government proposes that a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments should be provided for as early as in the first stage.

What is the essence of the Soviet proposal?

The Soviet Government proposes that *within four years or any other agreed period all states should carry out in three subsequent stages the complete and final elimination of all their armed forces and armaments.* At the same time all measures for disarmament must be strictly controlled so that not a single state could shirk the fulfillment of its obligations under the treaty on general and complete disarmament and consequently, so that none of them could take advantage of the elimination of the armed forces and armaments of other states for aggressive purposes.

In the first stage which is to last for about a year or a year and a half manufacture of the means of delivery of nuclear weapons to the target must be stopped and the existing stockpiles destroyed. In the first stage, too, all foreign military bases on the territories of other states must be dismantled and all foreign troops withdrawn from such territories. The strength of armed forces of states must be substantially reduced, with the maximum strength of the armed forces of the USSR and the USA being established at the level of 1,700,000 men. Conventional armaments must be reduced accordingly.

The implementation of all these measures would mean that in a year or a year and a half after the disarmament treaty becomes effective not a single state would have at its disposal military rockets or military aircraft capable of carrying atomic and hydrogen bombs, or warships equipped for this purpose, or any other means which could be used for delivering nuclear warheads to their destination.

Not a single foreign military base—rocket, air, naval or any other—would remain on the territories of states. All foreign troops would be withdrawn from the territories of other states whether or not they are occupation troops or stationed at present on foreign territories in accordance with some agreement. The armed forces and conventional armaments of states would be considerably reduced. It would be no exaggeration to say that were all these disarmament measures carried out, the world would heave a sigh of relief since the arms race would be stopped, the danger of a surprise nuclear attack by one state on another would be eliminated and, in general, the threat of a sudden outbreak of war would be considerably reduced. All this is, of course, bound to have a beneficial effect on the international situation as a whole.

However, the implementation of the disarmament measures proposed by the Soviet Government for the first stage would not as yet entirely remove the threat of war. Even after that the states would still retain nuclear and other weapons of mass extermination. But without the means of delivery nuclear weapons cannot be used to harm other states. Therefore the means of delivery must be destroyed and control must be established to prevent their manufacture. The states would still have considerable armed forces and conventional armaments. In other words, the states would still maintain means of unleashing war.

Therefore, the Soviet Government proposes that immediately following the completion of the measures of the first stage that are to be carried out from beginning to end under strict international control, and after the International control organ and the Security Council satisfy themselves that all the states have fulfilled their obligations for the first stage, the states should proceed to the realization of other large-scale disarmament measures comprising the second stage.

In the second stage the Soviet Government proposes, among other measures, the complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical, biological and other kinds of weapons of mass extermination as well as discontinuance of their manufacture and destruction of the existing stockpiles of such weapons, and further reduction of the armed forces of states alongside the appropriate reduction of armaments and war material.

The implementation of these large-scale measures would mean that there would be no more weapons of mass extermination left in the world, while armed forces and conventional armaments would be substantially reduced. Obviously, this would reduce to a minimum the possibility of war flaring up between states.

Nevertheless, even this is not as yet a complete and final solution of the problem now facing humanity. If the states retain armed forces—even though on a limited scale—it will mean that the danger of war has not yet been ruled out from the life of human society. But if so, how can one be sure that the arms race will not start again and the world will not return, in the long run, to the present state of affairs?

The Soviet Government believes that *in the third stage* it will be necessary to go still further and complete the elimination of the armed forces and armaments of all states, stop war production, abolish war ministries, general staffs, and military and paramilitary institutions and organizations of every kind as well as to stop appropriating funds for military purposes.

On the consummation of the third stage of general and complete disarmament the states would have neither soldiers, nor weapons any longer, and the danger of war would be consequently eliminated once and for all. Then the centuries-old dream of humanity—a world free of arms, free of wars—would come true.

As to the internal security of states it would be ensured by strictly limited and agreed contingents of police or militia. In case of need states would place such contingents at the disposal of the United Nations Security Council for the maintenance of world security.

These are the major points of the Soviet proposal "Basic provisions of a treaty on general and complete disarmament."

The Soviet Government expects that the members of the United Nations will consider the proposal "Basic provisions of a

treaty on general and complete disarmament" with all seriousness and responsibility. The Soviet Government expresses the hope that the discussion of this proposal at the General Assembly will make it possible to proceed without delay to the practical solution of the disarmament problem and will provide a more specific line for the solution of this problem during negotiations in an appropriate working organ. As to the composition of such a working body it appears necessary that besides states belonging to the existing military blocs, wider opportunities in considering the disarmament question should also be given to states adhering to neutral positions. It should also be desirable that the main areas of the world should be represented in such a disarmament body.

The Soviet Government realizes that the working out of a treaty on general and complete disarmament will require patience, mutual regard for the interests of the parties and flexibility on the part of all the participants in the negotiations. The Soviet Government, as before, is ready for such negotiations. It is aware that the peoples of the world, anxious for the radical solution of the disarmament problem are eagerly waiting for practical measures for general and complete disarmament to be initiated as soon as possible.

Of course, an important step ensuring the success of the negotiations on disarmament would be the re-establishment of the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in the United Nations. Thereby the great China would become a party to the negotiations on the disarmament question.

The peoples of the world persistently demand a prompt solution of the disarmament problem. They expect that the United Nations General Assembly will speak out with authority on this vital problem.

Goodwill and determination are required for the solution of the disarmament problem. It is from these positions that the Soviet Government urges all members of the United Nations to approach the consideration of the disarmament problem, the most burning and pressing problem of today.

N. S. KHRUSHCHEV

Chairman of the USSR Council
of Ministers

September 23, 1960

September 23, 1960

Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament

Proposals of the Soviet Government submitted to the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly by N. S. Khrushchev, Head of the USSR Delegation, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

The Governments of the States participating in negotiations on disarmament, guided by the resolution on "General and complete disarmament" adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations at its fourteenth session on 20 November, 1959, in the interests of saving mankind from the threat of a new war, and in the interests of securing lasting and inviolable peace on earth, recognize the need to proceed forthwith to the practical accomplishment of the task of general and complete disarmament, and have to this end resolved to draw up a treaty on general and complete disarmament, which will include the following basic provisions:

I. General and complete disarmament entails:

—the disbanding of all armed forces of States and the prohibition of their re-establishment in any form whatsover;

—the prohibition and destruction of all stockpiles, and the cessation of the manufacture of all kinds of armaments, including atomic, hydrogen, chemical, biological and other types of weapons of mass destruction;

—the destruction of all means of delivering weapons of mass destruction to their targets;

—the liquidation of all kinds of military bases, and the withdrawal and disbanding of all foreign troops stationed in the territory of any State;

—the abolition of any kind of military conscription for citizens;

—the termination of universal military training and the closure of all military education institutions;

—the abolition of war ministries, of general staffs and their local agencies, and of all other military and paramilitary establishments and organizations;

—the discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes whether from State budgets or from public organizations or private individuals.

When general and complete disarmament has been achieved, States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which will be agreed upon for each country and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

II. General and complete disarmament shall be carried out by all States over one and the same strictly defined period of time to be agreed upon, the process of disarmament being carried out gradually, in three consecutive stages, bearing in mind that at no stage shall any State gain military advantages over other States as a result of the course of disarmament.

To consider the question of the adherence of other States to the agreement on general and complete disarmament a conference will be convened with all countries participating.

III. All disarmament measures, from beginning to end, will be carried out under strict and effective international control as follows:

a) Immediately after the signing of the treaty a preparatory commission will be set up, with the task of taking practical steps to establish an international organization for the control of general and complete disarmament.

b) The control organization will be set up within the framework of the United Nations the moment the treaty comes into force. It will comprise all States, Parties to the treaty whose representatives will meet periodically as a conference to consider

matters arising out of the implementation of effective control over disarmament. The conference will elect a Control Council, consisting of permanent and non-permanent members, which will have its own local organs. The Control Council will consist of representatives of socialist countries, of representatives of States now members of Western military and political alliances, and of representatives of neutral States. Except where otherwise especially agreed upon, decisions in the Control Council will be taken by a two-thirds' majority of votes on substantive matters and by a simple majority of votes on procedural matters.

c) The Control Council will be responsible for the practical administration of the control system, will draw up instructions, and will in good time analyze and process the reports rendered to it. States will submit to the Control Council information about their armed forces and armaments.

d) In all countries Parties to the agreements the control organization will have its own staff, recruited internationally with due regard for the principle of equitable geographical distribution, and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty. The control organization will distribute its inspectors over the territory of States in such a way as to enable them to start discharging their functions the moment States initiate the implementation of disarmament measures. Each Party to the treaty will undertake to give the inspection teams timely and unrestricted access within its territory to any place where disarmament measures subject to verification are being carried out or to any area in which on-the-spot inspection of such measures is to be made. To these ends, each Party to the treaty will, for the account of the control organization, make available to the staff of the control organization all means of transport needed for travel within its territory.

e) The staff of the control organization will enjoy in the territory of each party to the treaty such privileges and immunities as may be necessary for exercising independent and unrestricted control over the implementation of the disarmament treaty.

f) International inspection teams will include experts in the type of units to be disbanded and the types of weapons to be destroyed.

g) The inspectors will communicate with the Control Council through existing channels of communication, being given such privileges as will ensure the prompt delivery of reports and instructions.

h) All the expenses of the international control organization will be met by the States Parties to the treaty. The scale of contributions of States will be laid down in the text of the treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The control organization shall at each stage have powers in conformity with the scope and nature of disarmament measures involved.

The basic disarmament measures will be spread over the three stages of the programme of general and complete disarmament in the following way:

First Stage

1. All means of delivering nuclear weapons will be eliminated from the armed forces of States; their manufacture will be discontinued and they will be destroyed. Such means include:

—strategic and tactical rockets, pilotless aircraft of all types, and all military aircraft capable of delivering nuclear weapons;

—surface warships that can be used as vehicles for nuclear weapons;

—submarines of all classes and types;

—all artillery systems, as well as other means, that can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

2. The armed forces of all States will be reduced to fixed levels, those of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics being reduced to a maximum level of 1.7 million men. Conventional weapons and munitions thus released are to be destroyed, and military equipment either destroyed or used for peaceful purposes. Military expenditures of States will be reduced correspondingly.

3. All troops will be withdrawn from foreign territories to within their own national frontiers. Foreign military bases and depots of all kinds, both those released after the withdrawal of troops and those kept in reserve, will be eliminated.

4. From the very beginning of the first stage and until the final destruction of all means of delivering nuclear weapons, the placing into orbit or stationing in outer space of any special devices, the leaving of their territorial waters by warships and the flying beyond the limits of their national territory by military aircraft capable of carrying weapons of mass destruction, will be prohibited.

5. The launching of rockets will be carried out exclusively for scientific peaceful purposes and in accordance with predetermined and mutually agreed criteria, and will be accompanied by agreed measures of verification, including inspection at the rocket launching sites.

6. States having nuclear weapons at their disposal will undertake not to transfer such weapons, or to transmit information necessary for their manufacture, to States which do not possess them. At the same time, States not possessing nuclear weapons will undertake to refrain from manufacturing them.

7. States will reduce their military expenditures correspondingly.

8. The following control measures will be carried out during the first stage:

On-site international control will be established over the destruction of rocket weapons, military aircraft, surface warships, submarines and other means which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons.

International inspection teams will be dispatched to places where military bases are situated and troops stationed on foreign territories, in order to supervise the elimination of the said bases and the withdrawal of military personnel and troops to within their own national territories; control will also be established at airfields and ports, to ensure that they are not used for military purposes. At the same time, rocket launching sites, with the exception of those maintained for scientific peaceful purposes, will be destroyed under the supervision of the international control organization.

The control organization will have the right to inspect without hindrance all enterprises, plants, factories and shipyards, previously engaged wholly or in part in the production of rockets,

aircraft, surface warships, submarines and any other means of delivering nuclear weapons, in order to prevent the organization of clandestine production of armaments which can be used as vehicles for atomic and hydrogen weapons. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

There will be on-site international control over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments.

The duties of inspectors will include:

Supervision of precise and punctual compliance with decisions on the disbanding of military formations and units, elimination and destruction of the material of conventional armaments, military equipment and munitions;

Reporting to the Control Council and to the Government of the host country.

The control organization will have unhindered access to documents pertaining to the budgetary allocations of States for military purposes, including all relevant decisions of legislative and executive bodies of States.

International inspection teams dispatched by the control organization will have the right to carry out a thorough examination of rocket devices to be launched for peaceful scientific purposes, and to be present at their launching.

9. In the first stage joint studies will be undertaken of the measures to be implemented in the second stage relating to the discontinuance of the manufacture of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and to the destruction of stockpiles of such weapons.

10. The first stage is to be completed within approximately 1-1.5 years. The international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the first-stage measures with a view to reporting on them to the States Parties to the treaty as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Second Stage

1. There will be a complete prohibition of nuclear, chemical biological and other weapons of mass destruction, with the cessa-

tion of manufacture and the destruction of all stockpiles of such weapons.

2. Further reduction of armed forces and armaments will be carried out to the levels to be agreed. Military expenditures of States will be reduced correspondingly.

3. The following control measures will be carried out during the second stage:

Representatives of the control organizations will conduct the on-site inspection of the destruction of all existing stockpiles of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons. The control organization will have the right to inspect all enterprises which extract raw materials for atomic production or which produce or use fissionable materials or atomic energy. By agreement, permanent control teams may be established at some plants and installations.

On-site international control over the disbanding of troops and the destruction of armaments will be continued.

4. In the second stage joint studies will be undertaken of the following measures to be implemented in the third stage:

a) measures to ensure observance of the treaty on general and complete disarmament after the implementation of all the measures provided for by that treaty;

b) measures to maintain peace and security in accordance with the United Nations Charter under conditions of general and complete disarmament.

5. As in the case of the transition from the first to the second stage, the international control organization will review the results of the carrying out of the second-stage measures with a view to reporting them to the States Parties to the treaty, as well as to the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Third Stage

1. The abolition of the armed forces of all States will be completed. States will have at their disposal only strictly limited contingents of police (militia), the size of which will be agreed upon for each country, and which will be equipped with light firearms, for maintaining internal order and ensuring the personal security of citizens.

2. All remaining types of conventional armaments and ammunition, whether held by the armed forces or in depots, will be destroyed, and military equipment will either be destroyed or be put to peaceful uses.

3. Military production at all factories will be terminated including the manufacture of conventional armaments, with the exception of strictly limited production of light firearms intended for the use of the contingents of police (militia) retained by States after the end of the programme of general and complete disarmament.

4. War ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations will be abolished. All military courses for reservists will be terminated. In accordance with their respective constitutional procedures, States will enact legislation prohibiting the military training of young persons and abolishing military service in all its forms.

5. The appropriation of funds for military purposes in any form, whether from State bodies, from private individuals or from public organizations, will be discontinued. The funds released as a result of the achievement of general and complete disarmament will be used to reduce or to do away entirely with taxes on the public, to subsidize the national economy and to furnish economic and technical assistance to the underdeveloped countries.

6. At the third stage, the following additional control measures will be introduced:

The international control organization will send inspectors to verify on the spot the abolition of war ministries, general staffs and all military and paramilitary establishments and organizations, and the termination of military training and all other forms of military activity.

Control will be established over the discontinuance of the appropriation of funds for military purposes.

The control organization may, where necessary, institute a system of aerial inspection and aerial photography over the territory of States.

7. After the programme of general and complete disarmament has been carried out, the control organization will be kept

in being to maintain constant supervision over the implementation by States of the obligations they have assumed. The Control Council will have the right to send mobile inspection teams to any point or to any establishment in the territory of States.

States will provide the control organization with information about the points at which the contingents of police (militia) are stationed, about their strength at every such point (area) and about any movements of substantial contingents of police (militia) near State frontiers. International inspection teams will carry out comprehensive control to ensure that the strength of the police (militia) and their armament are in conformity with the quota agreed upon for each country.

8. Other measures designed to ensure compliance with the treaty on complete disarmament will come into force.

9. Measures for preserving peace and security in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations will be put into effect. States will undertake, where necessary, to place at the disposal of the Security Council units from the contingents of the police (militia) remaining at their disposal.

As the implementation of the disarmament programme and the reduction of military expenditure of States proceeds, part of the funds thus released will be used to give economic assistance to underdeveloped countries.

September 23, 1960

Declaration on Granting Independence To Colonial Countries and Peoples

Submitted by the Head of the USSR Delegation N. S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for consideration by the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly

The states that set up the United Nations Organization laid in the basis of its Charter the lofty and humane ideals of equality and self-determination of nations and peoples.

Born in the period of victorious completion of the Second World War the United Nations embodied the hopes that inequality and enslavement of some nations and peoples by others would disappear along with the barbarity and cruelty of fascism and militarism. But not all the hopes of the peoples came true. Still unsolved is such a vital problem of our time as complete deliverance of mankind from the shameful colonial order inherited from the past.

Ours is the era of swift renovation of society, the era of establishing more progressive and just forms of life, of the upsurge of unprecedented triumph of man over the forces of nature. The time has come for complete and final liberation of peoples languishing in colonial bondage. Therefore the member states of the United Nations solemnly declare their convictions, intentions and demands for granting independence to colonial countries and peoples.

The peoples that oppress other peoples cannot be free. Each free nation should help in winning freedom and independence for the peoples that are still oppressed.

Great Revival of Enslaved Nations

Rapid liberation and emancipation of countries and peoples is a significant event of our time. Even during the lifetime of

the present generation two thirds of the world's population were living under conditions of colonial rule. At the end of the First World War the chains of colonial subjugation and oppression of nations were broken in a number of countries. The banner of national independence raised high over the world has become now the banner of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in all continents of the globe. The time has come for the liberation and revival of nations, peoples and tribes which were but recently oppressed and downtrodden. Tens of new states have joined the family of independent countries. The democratic ideas of equality and self-determination of nations are being translated into reality.

The myth of inability of colonial peoples to rule and to create material values is reduced to ashes.

No one can say now that the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America cannot govern themselves. Gigantic forces awoke for the construction of a new independent life, and their spirits rose. Now the solution of international matters is inconceivable without the participation of People's China, without the participation of the liberated peoples of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, Iraq, Ghana, Guinea and other states, big and small.

Today no one can say that the liberation of nations and peoples that were under the yoke of colonialism in the past will bring about the extension of the zone of conflicts and clashes between countries. On the contrary, national liberation has led to the extension of the zone of peace while the colonial oppression and colonial policy have led and will lead to wars.

Today no one can assert that the liberation of nations would lead to the depression of economy, trade, crafts or agriculture. On the contrary, experience shows that it is the political liberation of colonial nations and the establishment of new independent states that open the way for a genuine upsurge of the national economy.

Now no one will dare to assert that the liberation of nations from the colonial yoke would lead to a decline of culture. Life shows that immediately after the liberation follows the revival, uplift and flourishing of original national cultures, expansion

of public education, improvement of health service, training of skilled national cadres: the possibilities of enriching world culture are rising.

Not only the peoples of the East are gaining from the liberation of previously oppressed nations but the peoples of the West as well. The cause of freedom of peoples, their equal relations, the preservation of peace in the world is being placed on a more solid foundation.

But the liquidation of colonial regimes is yet to be completed.

The member states of the United Nations cannot remain indifferent when over one hundred million people still languish in colonial subjugation in the ancient lands of Africa and Asia, on the islands of Oceania, on the islands of the Caribbean and in other places. The peoples of these countries have the right to national independence but nevertheless they are still deprived of rights, remain in the stocks. Violence and lawlessness continue to reign in these countries, the major law there being profit for foreigners whose interest is all; the inherent rights of man and peoples are nothing. The bossing by foreign administrators who despise and loot local populations; persecution of tribes, derision of national customs, inequality for indigenous populations, shameful disregard of their vital interests, degrading of national and human dignity give rise to deep indignation in every honest person.

The lash of the overseer swishes there, the hatchet of the executioner cuts heads off.

The peoples of the colonies do not want to live in slave conditions, they are fighting for their rights and independence, for everything that other nations enjoy. However, selfish interests of the imperialist circles in the West stand in their way and hinder the realization of the just aspirations of peoples. Colonial wars, punitive expeditions, open looting of peoples by monopolies, military tribunals and secret trials, reservations, color bar, prisons and concentration camps – these are some methods with which overt and covert colonialists try to strangle all independent and nationalistic life in colonial countries.

The Conference of African Nations in Accra justly branded all this as colonial fascism.

Those who stand for the preservation of the old colonial

rule still hope for severe measures of retribution in the colonies. Of course, such measures are hampering liberation. But does not life follow its course? Did the cruel reprisals carried out throughout decades stop the liberation of Indonesia? Did the massacre of tens and hundreds of thousands of people of Indo-China save the colonial rule there? Could the crimes committed now against the peoples of Africa stop the irresistible process of the liberation of African nations?

No forces of oppression and despotism can save a colonial order that has lived its life. And about those that were killed on the path to freedom one cannot say that they are dead, no, they are alive in the memory of peoples, they will live eternally as heroes of national liberation struggle.

Colonialism is in its agony. But in the last minute of its life it can bring about many sufferings and victims, ruin many lives in colonies and metropolises, destroy much wealth created by the labor of many generations.

The United Nations appeals to all peoples on earth and to all governments not to remain indifferent observers of the suffering of colonial peoples. Can one turn a deaf ear to the moans of the people of Kenya where for eight years the colonial authorities have continued to exterminate the local population driven into reservations, prisons and concentration camps, to the sufferings of the people of the Oman against whom aggressive war is being waged? Who can remain calm seeing unending carnage of the population of Nyasaland, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, Ruanda-Urundi, South West Africa, Tanganyika, Uganda?

It is an intolerable situation in our time, in an age of progress and outstanding discoveries of scientific genius, boundless expansion of the power of man over the forces of nature, for France to wage colonial war in Algeria with the use of aviation, artillery, tanks and napalm bombs and other means of mass extermination against the Algerians who have been for nearly six years fighting with selfless courage for the freedom and independence of their motherland. Hundreds of thousands of Algerians have been killed, many Algerian towns and villages burned down and destroyed, a fifth of the country's population driven to concentration camps. Dying for this unjust cause are many sons of France.

Can such a situation be tolerated any longer? No, it cannot, if the interests of the great cause of peace, the interests of humanity and progress are to be cherished.

In what name do those who do not want to part with the colonial rule wage murderous wars against the peoples? Why are the freedom-loving aspirations of the enslaved peoples suppressed? Sometimes it is said that this is done in the interests of "civilization" of the less developed countries in order to prepare them for self-government.

But this is a lie given the shape of truth.

What civilization has been brought as a result of five centuries of the tyrannic colonial rule to the African countries of Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea whose area is more than half of Western Europe and who have a population of eleven million people? They have brought misery and lawlessness, forceful deprivation of the lands which have been watered with sweat of many a generation, expulsion of farmers into barren and drought-ridden regions.

Arbitrary rule, famine, ignorance and disease rage there, slavery and forced labor are actually in existence there. There is not a single establishment of higher education; secondary education is almost completely lacking.

Why can Portugal exercise such lawlessness in the colonies in our time? On what grounds?

During half a century of Belgian colonial domination the Congo's population decreased more than twice from punitive expeditions, starvation and disease. At the moment of the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of the Congo only few of its citizens could read and write.

The situation in other African colonies is no better in any way.

Of course, in some regions of the colonies roads, airfields, ports, mines, a few schools have been built. But all this serves the purposes of exploitation of the native population and of looting the natural wealth of the colonies.

The assertion that the colonial rule is necessary in order to prevent strife, fratricidal wars of tribes and peoples in colonies is a deliberate lie also. Developments in the Congo show that

colonialism thrives on the use of discord and the artificial rousing of differences between tribes and peoples. It tries to weaken their common struggle for liberation. The motto of the colonialists is, as ever, "divide and rule!"

What is inscribed on the colors of the peoples of Asia and Africa who are fighting for their national freedom and independence? Inscribed on them are the slogans of peace and unity of Bandung and Accra.

Being indifferent to the voice of justice, the colonialists are trying to preserve the arbitrarily drawn frontiers parting peoples and tribes as well as economic regions in Africa gravitating to each other, to disrupt the unity and the territorial integrity of many countries.

Independence for Colonial Countries and Peoples Is the Call of the Time

The United Nations appeals to peoples and governments irrespective of where their motherland may be — in the East or West, in the North or South — to raise the question prompted today by life itself: does a completely decayed colonial rule meet the ideals of the peoples and the possibilities of the present age?

One has only to compare the development for the past century of the independent countries of Europe or North America and the development of colonial countries in Africa to see clearly that the path of colonialism is the path of regression, the path of slow dying, destruction and degradation of the forcefully enslaved countries.

At a time when industry, transport, agriculture, science and culture have reached a high level in the economically developed countries, when vessels propelled by atomic energy have appeared, and artificial celestial bodies have been launched into the cosmos, Africa, the land of fantastic riches, has been retarded and turned into a continent of famine; the main implements of its agriculture, as thousands of years ago, are mattock, wooden plough and sharpened stakes; the primitive system of agriculture prevails which results in exhaustion and erosion of the soil.

Indeed, an abyss gapes now between the independent states with highly developed industries and the colonial countries, while

once Asia and Africa were the cradles of great civilizations which enriched the culture and civilization of other peoples.

It is obvious that the main purpose of the colonial regime is to gain enormous profits for big foreign monopolies which have seized the key economic positions in colonies, the extortion by all ways and means of wealth and material values. Therefore, the entire economy of the colonies is that of exploitation. Having been subjugated first of all to the narrow interests and needs of the markets of different, industrially more developed countries, it is advancing slowly in a deformed, one-sided direction.

Only after Ghana had been liberated was it recognized that its future lies not in the production of cocoa alone but in the development of modern industry with the extensive utilization of its large resources of hydro-electric power and the enormous deposits of bauxite and it is exactly this that is valuable from the point of view of the world's economy.

Under the colonial regime no use could have been made also of enormous hydro-power resources of the Republic of the Congo, which by their capacity nearly equal the present output of electric power in all the countries of Western Europe, taken together. The utilization of these resources alone would not only make it possible to start the development of its colossal mineral wealth in full measure and raise the level of agriculture in the Republic of the Congo but would transform, in a significant measure, the whole of the economic outlook of the Central African countries and raise the well-being of its population.

It is scientifically proved that all countries of the African continent as well as of other continents possess colossal and diversified natural resources that to a great extent are not exploited as yet. They could be brought to the service of the peoples of these countries and thus to the service of the whole of mankind. But the colonial regime deliberately preserves the economic backwardness of the colonies, hinders their industrialization and the sensible utilization of their resources. This is connected with an unprecedented waste of public funds, immense losses of labor, domination of the parasitic monocultural way of running the economy of the colonial countries which is adapted to satisfy the selfish interests of the metropolises.

The present level of science and technology, the latest achievements of science, agriculture and culture makes it possible, in a comparatively short period, for the peoples to use this huge wealth. However, in order to use it, it is first of all necessary to secure for the peoples the right to exist independently, to eliminate colonial rule, to render economic aid in using this wealth. This will permit a rise in the standards of living of the native population, expansion of internal markets, doing away with present illiteracy, with lack of national cadres, with the domination of monoculture in the colonial economy. The colonial forms are incompatible with the solution of tasks of this kind as well as with the great achievements of technology which are an inalienable part of modern civilization.

The gains from the exploitation of colonies go not to the peoples but mainly to big foreign monopolies — billionaires. Peoples of both the East and the West have to pay a high levy to colonialism. Oil and coffee, rubber and cotton, copper and bananas, various raw materials and foodstuffs brought from colonies are sold at a price scores of times as high as the price paid on the spot. Monopolies are robbing people twice — in the East when they buy and in the West when they sell colonial goods and raw materials.

Moreover, they compel peoples of the colonies to keep foreign troops and administration in peace time, that is to pay the price of the chains they are put into. At the same time the monopolies are charging taxpayers in metropolises higher taxes for carrying out punitive expeditions and colonial wars, forcing the peoples of the metropolises as well to pay for the shackles into which the monopolists-colonialists put other peoples. In fact, they are burying on the fields of devastation the freedom of their own people together with the independence of other nations. Such a situation is in itself a heavy indictment of the colonial system.

Meanwhile if the member states of the United Nations and first of all those of them, naturally, which in their time imposed the yoke of colonialism on many peoples, would show at least a minimum appreciation of the immediate needs of these peoples, they would find ways of meeting these needs. One of the main sources is the solution of the disarmament problem and curtailment of military expenditures of states.

It is known that the member states of the military and colonial North Atlantic bloc alone spend on the arms race 62 billion dollars a year. If at least half of this sum that is annually spent for unproductive purposes dangerous for peace were used for the development and uplift of African countries, for example, gigantic engineering and technical projects including the Ingui, Concure, Zanzibar and Volta plans—that is the plans for the construction of large hydroelectric power stations and irrigation systems, industrial enterprises and agriculture development schemes—then the liberated nations of Africa could build everywhere schools, universities, hospitals, roads and carry out other measures which would enable them to raise agriculture to a higher modern level.

At the same time if the bonds of colonialism were removed from African and other colonies this would facilitate the exploitation of their natural resources, increase the demand for European and American machinery and other industrial goods, increase the export of raw materials for the industry of Europe and America, raise the employment of the population and the utilization of industrial capacities, and ensure the raising of living standard of the peoples of industrially developed countries.

Every honest person and every government if it really stands for the equality of nations, for the realization of the great aims and principles proclaimed in the United Nations Charter cannot but see that colonialism is an obsolete and shameful phenomenon in the life of modern society. The complete and final liquidation of colonialism would be a prelude not only to social progress but also to rapid technical progress in industry and agriculture just as the end of the slave trade gave a powerful impetus to the development of the productive forces of society.

The liquidation of colonialism would be one of the most important measures to reduce international tension. It is the desire to prevent the liberation and the national development of young states in Asia, Africa, and Latin America that led to such armed conflicts and wars after the Second World War as those in Indonesia, Indo-China, Algeria, the aggression against Egypt, the foreign intervention in Lebanon and Jordan, the conspiracies against Syria, Iraq and others. And, indeed, all through the last hundred years most wars and armed conflicts were in one way or another

connected with colonialism, with the struggle of big powers for distribution and redistribution of colonies.

The peoples have more than once experienced the grave danger of colonial wars growing into a new world war. And now the intervention against the Republic of the Congo has led to an aggravation in the international situation, has endangered peace in Africa and, indeed, not only in Africa. Can one forget that in the present conditions with nuclear and rocket weapons in existence the conflagration of war started on one continent can instantly embrace the whole globe?

Many of the most important points of concentration of international tension — in the Middle and the Far East, in Africa and Latin America — are to a considerable degree a result of the colonial policy. Colonies and other so-called "non-self-governing territories" are often used as military bases of foreign powers, as firing grounds for atomic tests. Can such a situation make people feel secure, relieve them of the fear of war, show a way out of poverty, famine and disease which are still the lot of the peoples of the countries which remain colonies and trusteeship territories?

Apart from large colonies and trusteeship territories some powers retain as well strong points in different areas of the world, for example, Western Irian, Okinawa, Goa, Puerto Rico and others, not to mention Taiwan against which the USA has committed aggression, having occupied this territory of the Chinese People's Republic. Why do the highly developed industrial powers need such bases and "possessions" on foreign territories? Is it not an obvious survival of the epoch of former colonial domination? What would the Europeans or the Americans say if one or another Asian or African country demanded for itself strong points in the countries of Western Europe or North America?

There cannot be two opinions — these bases are kept to threaten the national independence and security of peoples in the neighbouring areas. As the trading stations at the dawn of colonialism served as a basis for the spread of colonial rule of oppression in Africa, Asia and America, so now, at the time of the decay of colonialism the imperialists are trying to use the remaining bases and colonies for brutal pressure on independent states of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The Shameful Colonial System Should Be Buried

The member states of the United Nations Organization submitting this Declaration, are of the opinion that every government which in deeds, and not in words is for peace and progress should respect the lawful rights of all nations without exception in their demands for equality, justice and independence. Either these demands will be recognized by all the states or the oppressed peoples with the support of their numerous friends in the world will take their destiny in their own hands and will gain liberty and independence, crushing all the artificial barriers erected in their way by the colonialists. The primary duty of all the nations is to extend a helping hand in the sacred struggle for independence against the yoke of the colonialists.

Together with the infamous system of colonialism such a form of colonial rule as the trusteeship system has also outlived itself. Being an obvious remnant of the mandate system of the League of Nations the present trusteeship system in accordance with the United Nations Charter should have facilitated the development of the trusteeship territories toward self-government and independence. Fifteen years have elapsed however since the Charter was adopted, but only four out of eleven trusteeship territories have attained independence.

So far no exact dates have been fixed for granting independence to the trusteeship territories including the largest of them — Tanganyika, Ruanda-Urundi, New Guinea.

The powers responsible for "trusteeship," disregarding the principles of the United Nations, are preserving in fact colonial regimes, mercilessly exploiting the population and plundering national resources, repressing those who appealed to the United Nations Organization, hampering the economic and political development of the trusteeship territories.

The trusteeship system has not justified itself anywhere and should be buried together with the entire colonial system which is an anachronism. The regime of colonial oppression has left to man a heavy legacy in the form of numerous complicated problems. The tragic events in the Congo as well as in some other parts of the world where peoples are waging the just struggle for their rights, demand a reasonable solution of the problem

of relations between the indigenous population and the settlers who came from other continents. Racial discrimination in all its odious forms, i.e. division of peoples and nations into the privileged and the "inferior" is racism, justification of criminal genocide, the way of adding new evil deeds to the evil deeds committed earlier, of new crimes to the crimes committed earlier, the way of fomenting mutual hatred, endless bloody conflicts between countries and peoples.

Different people have different skin color, but the blood they have is of the same color. And not a single people can lay a claim to domination over other peoples.

Ties and relations between the peoples created at the time of colonialism should be replaced by new relations based on the principles of equality, friendship and mutual respect, irrespective of the social and political system of states, ideology and political views of people or the color of their skin. The peoples in colonies should get real independence, but not a fictitious one under which they would, in fact, be kept within the bounds of a modified colonial regime. They are demanding not only greater freedom within the colonial rule but the final elimination of this system, freedom for progress, the right to be their own masters, to make use of their wealth and the fruits of their labor. Every form of enslavement, every manifestation of "trusteeship" or "charity" toward peoples is a deep insult to their dignity.

Life itself makes it imperative to choose between stagnation and progress, between slavery and freedom, between the division of the peoples and their unity, between war and peace.

The United Nations considers it a duty to urge the powers that have colonial possessions to enter into negotiations on equal footing with representatives of the peoples of the colonies and reach agreement on the establishment of freedom and independence of the colonial countries.

Exact and early dates for negotiations should be fixed and any possibility of coercion or aggression on the part of the colonial powers should be ruled out. But should those powers turn a deaf ear to such an appeal, should they delay the liberation of the colonies, suppress the liberation movement of the colonial peoples, the peaceloving peoples should render every assist-

ance, moral and material, to the peoples fighting for their independence.

The member states of the United Nations proceed from the premise that every country, every nation has a full and inalienable right to independent existence. They feel confident that the elimination of the colonial regime will not mean alienation of the countries of Africa or Europe from one another. On the contrary, it will promote still greater cooperation among them. Such unity and cooperation, however, should be granted reciprocally and of free will.

The more consistently and directly the great principles of international cooperation are realized—the principles of equality, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit, peaceful co-existence and economic cooperation, the better will be mutual understanding and agreement among free and equal states of the world.

Only thus will the countries of the West and the East, the North and the South march forward to progress, to genuine peaceful comity of nations utilizing the great achievements of modern science and culture. Only thus can be translated into reality the high principles of the right of nations and peoples to self-determination enunciated in the United Nations Charter.

Moved by the ardent desire for the earliest establishment of mutual good will and agreement among states and peoples as well as between the indigenous population of the non-self-governing territories and those who settled on such territories and wish to live there enjoying the same rights as those of the nationals of such countries, member states of the United Nations who affixed their signatures to this Declaration appeal to all people irrespective of language and race, religion and political outlook:

Let all the people of the globe hear our words!

We all live on one planet. On this planet we are born, we work, raise our children and pass on to them all we have achieved in life. And though there exist different states on earth, every person is born an equal citizen.

The very course of historic development at present poses the question of complete and final elimination of colonial rule in

all its forms and manifestations, and not some time in the distant future either, but immediately and unconditionally!

In accordance with this, member states of the United Nations solemnly demand:

1. *To grant immediately to all colonial countries, trusteeship territories and other non-self-governing territories complete independence and freedom in the building up of their own national states in conformity with the freely-expressed will and desire of their peoples. Colonial rule, colonial administration in all its forms should be abolished completely so as to make it possible for the peoples of such territories to determine their destiny and form of government.*

2. *To eliminate likewise all strongholds of colonialism in the shape of possessions and leasehold areas on the territories of other states.*

3. *The governments of all countries are called upon to observe strictly and consistently the provisions of the United Nations Charter and of this Declaration relating to equality and respect for sovereign rights and territorial integrity of all states without exception, allowing no manifestations of colonialism, no exclusive rights or advantages for some states to the prejudice of other states.*

* * *

In keeping with the noble principles of the Charter of this Organization member states of the United Nations cannot but regard the elimination of colonial rule as a most important stage in international life. This act in itself will prove a vital foundation for the development of genuine friendly relations among all states and among all peoples and thereby for the realization of the great objective of securing a durable and lasting peace on earth.

The sacred duty of each State and each government is to promote an early and full implementation of this Declaration.

September 23, 1960

An American Antique Dealer Presents Khrushchev with a Peace Pipe

Upon Khrushchev's return to his residence after his speech at the UN General Assembly, he was told that an American visitor and his wife wished to see him to present him with a peace pipe.

"All right," said Khrushchev, "let them come along. I shall be pleased to see them."

The Premier's American guests were Mr. and Mrs. Watson Pierce. The tall, gray-haired scholar carried in his hands an unusual 200-year-old Indian peace pipe.

In presenting the pipe to the Premier, Mr. Pierce said:

"I am presenting this peace pipe to the Premier of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. My colleagues at Archaeological Artifacts and Antiques and I look upon this pipe as a symbol which the Indians of the Black Foot tribe used to mark an end to tomahawks and wars on the great plains of America. Our ancestors thought that they belonged to different nations. They fought, were frightened, and again fought until they found that they could expel the spirit of sorrow by quietly chatting as they sat round the campfire. The pipe was then passed from hand to hand. Smoke curled. And they became blood brothers and good neighbors in the human community.

"May A- and H-bombs and other weapons no longer frighten the men, women, and children of the world. When they talk, may the leaders of our two great powers, the USSR and the USA, see in this pipe a new age for the recently recognized African nations and for all other countries assuming the full responsibility for the establishment of a fair and desirable peace.

"Mr. Prime Minister, now this pipe is yours. And may you and the heads of other states symbolically smoke it together."

Accepting the pipe, Khrushchev thanked Mr. and Mrs. Pierce.

"May I tender my heartfelt thanks to you and your wife for this symbolic souvenir, for this present. Let me assure you that we have no ideal more lofty than the preservation of peace between peoples in the name of human happiness. The political and social organization of society is every state's own affair. We Soviet people believe that our social and political system is the most progressive and best of all. Many do not agree with us. That's their affair. Let them live as they like. We are sure that as time passes they will see the advantages of the new system for themselves. I was very happy to see you and accept this present. When I drive through the streets of New York I see many friendly faces. I am aware that the absolute majority of Americans realize the aim of my visit, which has been made in the interests of preserving world peace.

"Still there are a few who follow wolfish rules, so to speak, and howl when I drive through the city. I must confess to you that at home I allow myself the pleasure now and then of going out hunting and that is why I am familiar with the howling of wolves. What I want to say is that despite this howling there are many good-hearted people in America.

"You and your wife are such Americans. You very well know how restorers work when they restore old paintings. They take off the accumulations of time, layer after layer, and get down to the genuine article. By your visit and symbolic gift you, like all men and women of good will, are showing that you profoundly believe in good relations between people, in the relations which should exist between the peoples of America and the Soviet Union."

"My wife and I," said Mr. Pierce, "have lived in many countries and we know that there are men and women of good will everywhere. As you so rightly noted in your speech today, war was a calamity in the past and would be a still greater calamity today. With A-bombs, a war cannot be limited, and I believe that it may menace the whole of civilization."

"I agree," Khrushchev remarked. "I am pleased to see that we are of one mind as to the grave danger that an atomic war represents."

The American scholar then said that he wanted to go to the Soviet Union and that he hoped he would be given assistance in

visiting museums and other institutions. He said he hoped this assistance would help him to get over some bureaucratic obstacles.

"When you come to see us," said Khrushchev, "you will see that we are a hospitable people and that your notion of bureaucratic obstacles is all wrong. The doors of our museums are wide open to guests. If I don't happen to be away when you come to Moscow and if you would like to see me, I will be happy to see you at the Kremlin."

Mr. Pierce said that his wife was a writer.

Turning to Mrs. Pierce, Khrushchev remarked, "Visit us and perhaps you too, as a writer, will find some interesting things to write about. We are not asking you to praise us. Just tell the truth and we shall be grateful."

September 24, 1960

News Conference at Glen Cove

Premier Khrushchev spent the week-end of September 24-25, 1960 at the country house of the Soviet UN Mission in Glen Cove, Long Island. Spending the week-end with him there were N. V. Podgorny, head of the Ukrainian delegation, Kirill T. Mazurov, head of the Byelorussian delegation, President Antonin Novotny of Czechoslovakia, Todor Zhivkov, head of the Bulgarian delegation and Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, head of the Roumanian delegation together with members of their staffs. Representatives of the Hungarian and Albanian delegations had also been invited, but due to State Department restrictions, could not leave Manhattan.

Wladyslaw Gomulka of Poland and members of his delegation joined the group on Sunday.

On Saturday afternoon, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic arrived in Glen Cove for a conference with Premier Khrushchev. In the evening, a press conference was held with newsmen.

QUESTION: Please describe your talk with Nasser.

KHRUSHCHEV: During the talk we exchanged views on general questions. We mainly talked of disarmament and the effort for a

stronger peace. President Nasser and I are old acquaintances and we maintain good personal relations.

QUESTION: Do you think your talk with Nasser was fruitful?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, I do.

QUESTION: Do you plan to meet Tito?

KHRUSHCHEV: We didn't come to any definite agreement about it, but I think we will meet.

QUESTION: Why did you leave Manhattan for Glen Cove?

KHRUSHCHEV: There are no hares in Manhattan, whereas they are to be found here. I like them a lot.

QUESTION: General Speidel of West Germany declared in Washington recently that Western defenses should be moved eastward, to the Soviet frontiers. What can you say about that?

KHRUSHCHEV: Speidel didn't say anything new. He only repeated Hitler's mad ideas. Everybody knows what Hitler's lot was. And it will be the lot of all who try to follow in his footsteps, of all the Speidels.

QUESTION: British newspapers say that Macmillan is coming here to make peace between the Soviet Union and the USA. What do you think about that?

KHRUSHCHEV: To make peace, I think, is too strongly put. But we are prepared to accept Macmillan's help in improving Soviet-American relations.

QUESTION: Does Nasser agree with you on disarmament?

KHRUSHCHEV: I didn't ask him about it.

QUESTION: Did he tell you about any of his own proposals on disarmament?

KHRUSHCHEV: President Nasser will speak at the General Assembly himself and will express his views about the matter.

QUESTION: What can you say about the position of the Western powers on West German armaments?

KHRUSHCHEV: One of the main contradictions in the position of the Western powers is that they speak of disarmament or rather control over armament, and at the same time continue to arm themselves and to give weapons to the most aggressive state, that is, West Germany.

QUESTION: What can you say about your stay here, in the heart of capitalism, so to speak?

KHRUSHCHEV: This is the heart of capitalism and I have the heart of a Communist. Evidently, we can coexist on one planet. For instance, in the capitalist world it often happens that an old but rich widow marries a young man. And they live together, though he evidently doesn't thirst so for the old woman's love. Still he lives with her. (*Laughter.*) In the same way, capitalist and socialist states must coexist even though there is no love lost between them.

QUESTION: Please tell us whether Nasser told you what he thought about the speech you made in the UN yesterday? What was his comment?

KHRUSHCHEV: I would be showing disrespect for my guest if I asked him a question like that. That's why I didn't ask that.

QUESTION: But perhaps he said something of his own accord?

KHRUSHCHEV: You are a rather cunning American. You want to know what I talked about with the President during our conversation. Try the front door as all normal human beings do, not the back one. (*Laughter.*) I won't tell you anything about the questions we discussed anyhow.

QUESTION: You have a balcony on the third story here. You could give news conferences from it, like the one you gave in New York.

KHRUSHCHEV: There is no need for that here. You felt offended then that we were talking "on different levels." Now I can talk with you on the same level, on the ground. (*Laughter.*)

In our talk here today I would like to provide some additional explanations for the point of view I set forth at the General Assembly. In a statement to the press Mr. Herter said that I had allegedly declared war on the UN. All that I beg you to do, gentlemen of the press, is to be exact and not distort what I tell you.

I would like to tell you once again what I said about the need for changing the structure of the UN Secretariat. My speech was not directed against Mr. Hammarskjold in person. It is not a matter of his person, but the fact that he expresses the position only of that group of countries which is headed by the USA.

However, there are in the world countries with different social and political systems. You know that the USA represents the capitalist countries that belong to Western military blocs. Those are the aggressive imperialist states. Then there are also

socialist countries, as you know. These countries conduct a policy of peace.

There are countries that are neutral. The most typical of them are India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Burma and Afghanistan, as well as Austria, Finland, Sweden, and other countries.

Hence, the world is made up of states which are sharply divided into three groups. But the UN Secretary-General now reflects the position of the states belonging to the Western military blocs. For that reason, when he carries out a Security Council decision or a decision of the General Assembly he naturally carries it out in the interests of only one group of countries, to wit, the group he represents. This, of course, is done in detriment to the interests of the two other groups, the socialist and neutral groups.

Therefore, we maintain that this cannot go on any longer. We think that not the UN Secretary-General by himself, but a more representative, collective executive body, perhaps a Secretariat-General, consisting of three Secretaries, should carry out the decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Were the group of states headed by the USA to nominate Mr. Hammarskjold to this UN executive body, we would have no objections because we know him as a representative of these states.

However, this Secretariat-General should also have representatives from the socialist and neutral countries. Then the Secretariat would take into consideration the interests of all three groups of states, when carrying out UN decisions.

This structure of the UN Secretariat would help also to solve the disarmament problem. Why? Because now, in point of fact, all have agreed that if we reach an agreement on disarmament we shall establish international armed forces which will be employed under UN command.

Suppose now that we have already agreed to disarm and to set up international armed forces. The question, then, is: who is going to command these forces?

Will it be Marshal Malinovsky? He is an experienced commander, and I know him very well. But you will immediately ask: why Malinovsky? This is a lawful question. The Americans will say that it would be better to appoint the present NATO commander, Norstad, to the post, though I personally think Marshal

Malinovsky is a better commander than Norstad. Then the neutral countries will ask: why is it only the great powers who are proposing their commanders? We also want our interests to be reflected, they will say. We also want our own commander, Marshal Amer, say.

I ask you, gentlemen: will we ever be able to agree on these candidates? I don't think so. You won't accept our candidate, and we won't accept yours, Norstad, while as for Speidel, I suppose you won't nominate him yourselves. (*Laughter.*) Nor would you agree, I suppose, to have Amer. That means that it will be, in general, impossible to reach agreement on the establishment of international armed forces. If the UN armed forces are used as they are now, if they are commanded by Hammarskjold alone, no good will come of it. The Congo provides an instance of that.

The Congo government asked the UN to help with armed forces. Armed forces were sent and began to operate against the lawful government which had asked for help. You know that these armed forces established control over the airfields, the radio station and communications and thus, far from helping, on the contrary, complicated the work of the lawful Lumumba government.

Incidentally, why do we support Lumumba? Because he is the Prime Minister of the lawful government appointed by the Parliament which the Congolese people elected. But why did the troops, sent in the name of the UN, start operating against the Lumumba government? Because it was profitable for the colonialist-imperialist powers. They want to remove the Lumumba government which is for preserving the country's independence and which seeks to govern its country in the interests of the Congolese people.

UN Secretary-General Hammarskjold is helping Tshombe. But that man is a traitor; he is betraying the interests of the Congolese people. Tshombe is what Petlura was during the revolution in our country. On behalf of the UN, Mr. Hammarskjold is supporting Colonel Mobutu in the Congo, a man who is also acting against the Congolese government. But Mobutu is a brigand. If we again were to look for a comparison with our country he would be akin to Wrangel, Kolchak, or other such flotsam of history which our people chucked out. To make a long story short, the forces operating against the lawful government, the lawful parliament and the Congolese people, are being supported by

Hammarskjold on behalf of the UN. This means that in the Congo the UN Secretary-General is pursuing the policy of the Belgian colonialists and their sympathizer, the USA, and not the policy of the peace-loving socialist and neutral countries.

Or take this example. If we agree to disarm—and I believe that with time we will—and if we establish UN armed forces, these armed forces, given the UN in its present structure, may find themselves under the command of a person, for example, Mr. Hammarskjold, who expresses only the interests of the West.

Therefore gentlemen, judge for yourselves, can we, the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist camp, agree in such a situation to disarmament and to the establishment of international armed forces which would operate under such a command? Of course not.

One can also understand the point of the USA and the countries affiliated with it in the military blocs. They would not trust us either, were the UN Secretary-General to be a representative of the socialist countries. So both sides should understand each other's mistrust of a one-man command of the UN Secretariat. The UN Secretariat-General should include not only a representative of the West and a representative of the socialist world, but also a representative of the neutral countries.

This should be done in order that the Secretariat approach in a more objective way the implementation of decisions with respect to questions of an international order, with the aim of ensuring peace on earth and good neighborly relations between countries.

As you can see we have nothing against Hammarskjold personally. We are looking for a more perfect form of organization that would guarantee peaceful coexistence of all states with different political and social systems, so that the decisions the UN makes would not go against the interests of one or another UN member. That is our stand. It is not at all a belligerent position. On the contrary, it is a very peaceful one. And we are prepared to cooperate with Mr. Hammarskjold as the representative of a definite group of countries, as long as there are along with him in the Secretariat representatives, with the same powers, from the socialist and neutral countries, so that they may jointly decide all matters.

We are not in favor of substituting our own candidate for Hammarskjold. You cannot find a man for this post who would be three persons wrapped up in one, who would be able to represent all three groups of states at once. That just cannot be done. True, they say that God was three in one. But nobody has ever seen Him. So let Him remain in the imaginations of believers. What we want to have is a three-man UN Secretariat.

It is already dark. It is very hard to take things down. I am taking care of your eyesight, gentlemen of the press. You will find a use for it. (*Laughter.*) Let's end our talk.

September 25, 1960

News Conference at Glen Cove (II)

QUESTION: If the question of the Secretary-General is not decided as you suggest, will that mean the Soviet Union will discontinue disarmament talks?

KHRUSHCHEV: No, it won't.

QUESTION: In the light of your proposal regarding the UN Secretariat, how will you react to the formation of international armed forces under the aegis of the United Nations if your proposal is not accepted?

KHRUSHCHEV: Under such conditions we shall not agree to the creation of international armed forces. We do not want such forces to be under the sole command of the UN Secretary-General.

QUESTION: Do you intend to address this session once again?

KHRUSHCHEV: I intend to address it more than once, otherwise the travel expenses won't be covered. *(Animation.)*

QUESTION: What subjects will you take up?

KHRUSHCHEV: That's a secret.

QUESTION: It is rumored that Fidel Castro is going to speak for four hours. Will you have the patience to listen to him?

KHRUSHCHEV: I am ready to listen to Castro even for six hours. *(Animation.)*

QUESTION: Today the United States launched a satellite which is to be orbited around the moon.* What do you have to say about this?

*The correspondent referred to a 387-pound sphere launched atop an Atlas A-66 rocket which, it was later learned, failed to reach its destination. *(Ed.)*

KHRUSHCHEV: It is very good. If your satellite lands on the moon successfully, our lunik, which has been there for a long time already, will welcome it as its American mate. Let's hope that they will get on nicely, on the principles of peaceful coexistence, which we still lack here on earth.

QUESTION: An American general declared that two Soviet astronauts perished a few days ago. Is this true?

KHRUSHCHEV: It's one of those generals' jokes. *(Laughter.)*

QUESTION: Do you think that Hammarskjold should resign?

KHRUSHCHEV: Let him think it over and decide by himself.

QUESTION: You proposed, on condition that other countries find it expedient, that the UN headquarters be set up in Moscow. But you have censorship for foreign correspondents, there is no Western press on sale, and broadcasts are jammed.

KHRUSHCHEV: I have already said at the General Assembly, and I repeat now, that all conditions will be provided for the successful work of the representatives of various countries in the United Nations.

QUESTION: The US government considers that Hammarskjold's policy in the Congo was the best. What can you say on this score?

KHRUSHCHEV: This appraisal contradicts the facts. Of course, Hammarskjold suits you. Herter shakes his hand and solemnly hands over to him a check for five million dollars for rendering assistance to the Congo. In actual fact Hammarskjold's policy has been harmful to the legitimate government of the Congo. Had there been three Secretaries-General in the United Nations, as we propose, they would not have tolerated a situation where United Nations troops helped not the legitimate Congolese government, but those who opposed it. The country should be ruled by its legitimate government and not by United Nations troops.

Our times have seen many instances of people who were wrongly appraised. It is known, for example, that President Eisenhower considered Syngman Rhee to be a most clever man. Where is Syngman Rhee now? Where is he hiding?

QUESTION: If there were no UN troops in Korea, to whom would all Korea belong? To the North Koreans?

KHRUSHCHEV: To the Koreans, in any case. At the present time there are foreign troops in South Korea, and not in North Korea.

I want to say once again that one man in a post such as that of Secretary-General of the United Nations cannot satisfy the demands of all the groups of member states of the UN. When unilateral decisions are made, the other side is compelled to rely on its national forces. But we should not bring matters to conflicts, to wars. The policy of operating "from positions of strength," and of "rolling back communism" has suffered many fiascoes.

Remember Dulles, who initiated the policy of "rolling back communism." Regarding this policy Mr. Stevenson noted most wittily not long ago that the Democrats have been restraining communism in Europe while the Republicans are trying to restrict it in Manhattan.

Communism has taken firm root and has developed into a mighty tree, which is not afraid now of any storms and tempests.

QUESTION: Has this tree really taken such firm root?

KHRUSHCHEV: Try and shake it. There was an attempt to organize intervention after the October Revolution, but nothing came of it.

(At that moment shouts were heard from pickets standing a few yards away. Khrushchev remarked: "This is a manifestation of American 'culture' for you.")

QUESTION: Our newspapers printed the full text of your speech in the United Nations, whereas there were only 600 words about Eisenhower's speech in your newspapers. Where is freedom of information in this case?

KHRUSHCHEV: You don't know your own business. My speech was printed in full only in the *New York Times,* but without the supplements—the Declaration and our proposals on disarmament. As regards President Eisenhower's speech, the full text of it was printed in our newspaper *Izvestia,* whose circulation is several times bigger than that of the *New York Times.* Now you may judge of freedom of information.

QUESTION: When Raul Castro was in Moscow you declared that in the event of US intervention against Cuba the Soviet Union would strike at the United States. Have I interpreted your statement correctly?

KHRUSHCHEV: More or less correctly. But you have no reason to feel nervous. Your analyst, Lippmann, wrote: "Khrushchev said

'if'." But since America doesn't intend to attack Cuba, all danger has passed.

QUESTION: You say that one should not peek through other people's fences. Why have you been the first to put up a fence?

KHRUSHCHEV: What fence?

CORRESPONDENT: The Iron Curtain.

KHRUSHCHEV: Wake up, young man. Have you been in the Soviet Union? Oh, you haven't! And still you are trying to prove something. Incidentally, when a peasant plants a garden he fences it in lest the shoots should be spoiled by pigs.

Come to the Soviet Union, we shall give you a visa, and you will see that there is no Iron Curtain.

CORRESPONDENT: I feel all right here. I am quite happy.

KHRUSHCHEV: A slave also thinks he is happy having eaten leavings from his master's table. You are a slave of capitalism!

CORRESPONDENT: You too like to peek through other people's fences.

KHRSUSHCHEV: Where is that?

CORRESPONDENT: In Hungary.

KHRUSHCHEV: It's all lies you are telling! At the request of the Hungarian Revolutionary Government the Soviet Union helped the Hungarian people to throw out traitors of the type of Colonel Mobutu in the Congo.

(Pickets were again heard shouting nearby. The Premier pointed in that direction.)

KHRUSHCHEV: What's that? They must be earning dollars for a dinner.

PRESIDENT WLADYSLAW GOMULKA of Poland remarked to correspondents:

"You must understand, we have not come as your guests, but to attend the United Nations Organization. But look at the way some Americans are treating delegations from different countries! It's a disgrace! I am sure that nothing like this would have happened in any other country."

(At that moment N. V. Podgorny and K. T. Mazurov drove up in their cars. Khrushchev said: "Here come reinforcements in the persons of representatives of 'enslaved' Ukraine and Byelorussia. Look how 'enslaved' they are!")

QUESTION: What is the purpose of your arrival at the United Nations?

KHRUSHCHEV: Above all, to achieve a decision on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in the interest of world peace.

September 26, 1960

Speech at Cyrus Eaton Luncheon

Cyrus Eaton, prominent American industrialist, gave a luncheon for Premier Khrushchev at the Hotel Biltmore. Attending were about two hundred businessmen and public figures from both the United States and Canada. Following is the Premier's speech at that luncheon which was also addressed by Senator Donald Cameron of Banff, Alberta, Canada and by Mr. Eaton himself.

ESTEEMED HOST, MY GOOD OLD FRIEND, MR. EATON,

ESTEEMED MRS. EATON,

ESTEEMED LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is a pleasure for me to be present at this luncheon and to meet the people I know, representatives of business and public circles of the United States and Canada. I have never been to Canada, but since the Canadians whom we see here have been invited by Mr. Eaton, I believe they share many of our honorable host's perfectly fair and wise ideas.

I avail myself of this opportunity as your guest to congratulate you from the bottom of my heart on the high award you recently received—the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace Among Nations. We greatly appreciate your activity in strengthening peace and are happy that you merited the great honor of receiving one of the highest distinctions which the public can confer upon outstanding leaders of various countries working for the sake of strengthening world peace. I am also proud of the fact that the public has bestowed upon me the title of Laureate of the International Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace. This is a great honor for any man no matter what social and political views he holds.

It is symbolic to a certain extent that you, one of the leading representatives of the capitalist world, and I, who hold no small place in the communist world, direct our common efforts toward the struggle for peace. This shows that given the desire and good will, people, despite differences in their views, can and must unite their efforts in the struggle for peace in order to safeguard peace among nations.

In reply to your cordial speech, Mr. Eaton, I would like first of all to wish you and your esteemed wife further success in your activities for the good of peace, and happiness in your personal lives.

Allow me to thank you, Mr. Eaton, for your kind invitation to visit the state of Ohio where you wanted to show me some iron and steel plants and your farm. I am sure I would have seen many interesting things there. I hope and believe that the time will come when I shall be able to avail myself of your invitation without being restricted in my movements around the United States.

You, Mr. Eaton, and I belong to the same generation; we have seen a lot in our lives. The entire history of the present day has practically passed before our very eyes and that is why, on the basis of life experience, we are able to judge it and draw definite conclusions. You and I hold different political, ideological and social views. And yet we have not lost the ability, after speaking together for a number of years, to understand one another reasonably, to argue, to differ on a number of questions, without declaring war on each other, without frowning when we meet.

Why is this so? Because the capitalist Eaton and the communist Khrushchev when talking and meeting retain their opinions, as you understand. Just as I have no intention of converting Mr. Eaton to the communist faith, so, I hope, Mr. Eaton would not waste his time trying to turn me into a supporter of the capitalist point of view. But the representatives of the capitalist and the socialist states have to learn to understand one another in order to settle questions between states by peaceful means, to prevent the outbreak of military conflicts and a new world war.

There are many examples of the peaceful competition of capitalist and socialist countries and their mutually advantageous cooperation. This is taking place because at the head of a number of capitalist states stand far-sighted political leaders who soberly

appraise the course of international events and take the world as it is. They understand that business-like, mutually advantageous relations must be established with the socialist countries.

I agree with you, Mr. Eaton, that we have opportunities to live in peace and successfully develop competition on a peaceful basis. And history will judge us and show which system is better.

Public figures, journalists and ordinary people frequently ask me why I came to New York in the autumn of 1960. I want to speak about this again, although I think I explained it sufficiently clearly in my speech at the United Nations General Assembly. The Soviet delegation came to New York to the United Nations Assembly in order to prove again and again the vital need for general and complete disarmament under international control. I repeat, under strict international control.

In order to evade the disarmament problem and to divert public opinion some Western leaders say that we demand disarmament without control.

The United States press alleges that in making the proposal on general disarmament I spoke hazily about control. I do not know how to disperse this haziness among those who have veiled their own eyes and their reason with this haze. Any sober-minded person can read quite clearly what I said about international control, and what is most important, we are prepared to sit down at the negotiation table and help to clarify the unclear questions. But before sitting down at the table and conducting negotiations we have to agree firmly that we must decide the question of disarmament, we must achieve agreement on disarmament under strict international control. We demand precisely disarmament under control and not control over armaments. For control over armaments does not diminish the danger of a sudden outbreak of war. Control over armaments is also fruitless from the economic standpoint since it does not lighten the burden of the arms drive that lies entirely on the shoulders of the peoples.

Mr. Eaton in his speech named the figure of 100 billion dollars annually spent on armaments. So what are we to do, double or treble this figure in a year or two, or in five years' time? Can we permit the colossal human values created by the efforts of millions upon millions of people to be spent unproductively or on the accumulation of weapons of mass extermination?

Sober-minded people, no matter who they may be, cannot regard as normal such a purposeless and dangerous squandering of values created by the effort of people. Was it not worth coming to New York to fight again for such a just and noble cause as the termination of the arms race, complete abolition of the disgraceful colonial system that humiliates the dignity of man? Was it not worth crossing the ocean to improve the activities of the United Nations Organization for the sake of strengthening peace? I think it was worth it!

The Soviet Government did not spare and will not spare either effort or time to achieve disarmament, so that the peoples may be freed from the fear of a third world war, from the burden of taxes used for preparing a new war.

We have submitted for the consideration of the Assembly other questions as well, the proper solution of which would help to normalize the international situation and lessen the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war.

I would like to say a few words in passing about some hasty statements and reproaches made against me in connection with the proposal on reorganizing the United Nations Secretariat. It is said that Khrushchev is attacking Hammarskjold and is creating a crisis in the United Nations Organization.

I have already said that the chief thing is not the criticism of Mr. Hammarskjold as a person. The question at issue is not that he personally maintains the position of the US State Department in assessing international events but that this position of his affects the execution of United Nations decisions in favor of one group of states, to the detriment of other states.

Can a man who adheres to the point of view of but one definite side execute a decision of the United Nations Organization? If the candidacy of Mr. Hammarskjold suits the Western countries we shall not object if they nominate him to the corresponding post in the executive triumvirate which we propose should be set up, but in this body, besides Mr. Hammarskjold, there must be a representative from the socialist countries and a representative from the neutral countries. In this way the executive body of the United Nations would reflect the actual correlation of forces that has been historically established in the present-day world. It is also said that in this case, the Soviet Union would have two-thirds of the

United Nations executive power in its hands. They have in mind that the representative of the neutral countries would allegedly always support the position of the socialist countries, but in my opinion, this argument does not speak in favor of those who advance it. It only shows that the policy now pursued by the ruling circles of the Western countries is obviously not meeting with sympathy among the states adhering to neutrality.

Mr. Eaton said many reasonable things about the importance of improving relations between our two countries, about the successes achieved by the United States of America, and about the fact that we in the Soviet Union have achieved a high level of economic development. It is common knowledge that the American people have attained much in their country's development but we do not envy this. We propose to the United States of America peaceful competition in economic development and in improving the people's well-being. I agree that this competition can be more successful if trade is organized between the two countries. During my last visit to the United States I spoke much about the usefulness of such trade without discrimination.

Peaceful competition embraces the main economic indices and covers many other aspects of life. We should compete to see who produces more and cheaper steel, oil, grain and coal, who builds more dwellings, schools, scientific and cultural institutions so that the people may be better provided. We can also compete in baseball. We know that the Americans like this game very much. We have a game similar to this. It is called lapta. I played the game in my childhood. However, with age, and chiefly because of preoccupation with other things I had to give up playing lapta. Everything in its time.

We are proud that Soviet young men and women gained the upper hand at the Olympic Games in Rome, but we also paid tribute to the American sportsmen who scored outstanding results in the Olympiad.

You said, Mr. Eaton, that you like farming and are acquainted with it. I am pleased that you also appreciate my interest in agricultural production. I was born in the country and, although I have been living in town for a long time, I try to pay my native village a visit every summer during my holidays.

I love to visit the place of my birth. There, as everywhere else in our country, I see ever new changes for the better. The land is being better and more productively cultivated, our cities and villages are becoming more beautiful. And the most important thing is that people are living a better and more cultured life. They have every confidence in the morrow.

Competition between socialism and capitalism is determined not only by the absolute quantity of national production and not only by the quantity of per capita production. It is also determined by achievements in the formation of the personality so that man who creates all the values on earth may be the first of these values, so that he may advance science and technology more successfully, easing life on earth and making it more beautiful for all people.

You have asked me, Mr. Eaton, to see to it that the Soviet Government continues its tireless efforts in convincing the statesmen of the world to agree unconditionally to general and complete disarmament. As a statesman and as a man I can tell you that this is one of the primary purposes of my life, of the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.

We are pleased that these actions in defense of peace and for disarmament are meeting with wide support among people of different social and political views. If all the peoples direct their efforts towards achieving disarmament and bring pressure upon those governments that resist this, then the peoples will be able to achieve general and complete disarmament. The Soviet Government on its part will do everything possible to achieve such agreement on disarmament and thus ensure peace throughout the world.

Guided by reason and the experience of human history, all of us together must achieve disarmament and the world will then heave a sigh of relief.

There is criticism in the American press about our proposals on disarmament. Some American journalists write approximately as follows: Khrushchev has proposed a plan for disarmament but he speaks somewhat hazily about control.

I would like to address the representatives of the press if they are present here, and if they are not I would like my remarks to reach the press. Agreement should be reached in the first place on the main thing, on general and complete disarmament under strict international control. As for control, let us agree to this: you

suggest your formulations. I am sure we shall find a common language on questions of control, because if agreement is reached on general and complete disarmament there will be no cause for argument on questions of control over the fulfilment of the agreement on general and complete disarmament.

If we do not reach agreement on disarmament, but talk only about control, nothing will come of it. But if we reach agreement on disarmament, on the disbanding of armies and abolition of means of mass destruction, it will be easy simultaneously with this to reach agreement on control.

I repeat, we also agree to discuss any formulations on control for the sake of achieving agreement, for the sake of strengthening peace.

I would like to make the following suggestion to you. Our talks with the governments of the Western powers on disarmament do not seem to be making any headway so far. What if we try an experiment like this: let the business people of all countries—the United States, Britain, Canada, France, our country and other countries—journalists, lawyers and others—get together and help the governments to reach agreement on disarmament. I would gladly agree to present my views to these people if they invited me, and would listen to their considerations. The heads of the other governments would have to do likewise. I think this would be a very useful experiment which would facilitate the achievement of an agreement on disarmament. After all, the people both in the socialist and in the capitalist countries want to live in friendship, to develop their economy so that peace reigns on earth, so that the people will not be threatened with war.

Thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

I propose a toast to the health of Mrs. Eaton, Mr. Cyrus Eaton, and all of you gentlemen. *(Applause.)*

At the conclusion of Khrushchev's speech, Cyrus Eaton said: "If you have no objections the representatives present at our meeting would like to ask you several questions."

KHRUSHCHEV: If you have any questions I am ready to answer them. Questions should not be evaded.

QUESTION: Can the USSR and Canada have contacts in the sale of similar commodities, ores in particular?

KHRUSHCHEV: You want to know whether the Soviet Union can have contacts with Canadian industrialists in the production and sale of similar commodities, such as ores, for example. I can answer briefly, it can.

We are cooperating, for example, in the international organization dealing with the sale of tin. There each country has a definite quota determined by a general agreement. Why not extend this principle to other commodities?

We are prepared to sign such an agreement. Shall we sign it now, or later? *(Laughter.)*

VOICES: Now!

KHRUSHCHEV: By all means, we are ready.

QUESTION: Do you, Mr. Prime Minister, think it possible that expenditures on arms could be considerably reduced by mutually beneficial, free trade between the United States, Canada and other countries and also the Soviet Union?

KHRUSHCHEV: Esteemed gentlemen! There is no greater happiness for the Soviet Government, for the Soviet people, than to reach agreement on the disarmament problem. For if we reached agreement on disarmament we would not only avert the threat of a new world war but would be able to increase manyfold peaceful production for the benefit of the peoples. That is why we are ready to cooperate with all states in this field.

I can tell you that when I met with the President of the United States last year we had frank talks. He told me once: military men often come to me and say—give us money for the production of some weapon or other. If you don't the Russians will outstrip us in armaments. *(Laughter.)* The President asked me: And how are things in your country? I answered: In our country approximately the same takes place. Military men and scientists approach the Government and ask for money for the production of new rockets. And we give then the money. Six months later the same people come and say: we have worked out more modern designs of rockets, give us money for these rockets. We tell them: but we have recently given you money for new rockets. And they answer: now we have produced more perfected rockets, give us money, otherwise the Americans will outstrip us. *(Laughter.)*

And we have to give money again. It is like the story about the locust that has no end. *(Laughter.)*

There are no limits to the arms drive. Let us stop this race to the abyss, let us stop the arms race, and the sooner the better. For this will be to the benefit of our countries, to the benefit of the peoples. *(Applause.)*

DR. HILL: Mr. Prime Minister! I am among those who welcome your efforts and support your proposals on general and complete disarmament. These proposals envisage the establishment of international inspection with posts in different countries. Since our countries possess vast territories, violations of the agreement are possible in remote areas of these countries. In this connection I would like to know your opinion on what your attitude will be should the population freely report to the international agency on a contemplated violation of the international agreement on disarmament?

KHRUSHCHEV: On behalf of the Soviet Government I solemnly declare that we welcome everything the scientist has stated here in the question he put, and I can put my signature to what he said. *(Prolonged applause.)*

At the conclusion of the meeting, Cyrus Eaton heartily thanked Premier Khrushchev for finding the time to meet with representatives of business and science from the United States and Canada.

Mr. Eaton expressed the hope that the Premier would continue with his former energy to uphold the great ideas of peaceful coexistence and disarmament directed towards strengthening world peace.

September 26, 1960

Letter to President of UN General Assembly

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers forwarded the following letter to the President of the UN General Assembly on disarmament and the situation that has come about with respect to the realization of Resolution No. 1378 on Disarmament which the General Assembly adopted at its Fourteenth Session on November 20, 1959:

Supplementing the statement of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics of September 23 on disarmament, I have the honor to forward herewith a draft resoultion on the question of the composition of the Disarmament Committee which

the delegation of the USSR is submitting to the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations for consideration.

Please circulate this letter as an official document of the General Assembly.

N. KHRUSHCHEV
Chairman of the Council of Ministers
of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

Draft Resolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The General Assembly resolves that the number of participants in the Ten Nation Disarmament Committee be increased to include, besides the representatives of Bulgaria, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Italy, Poland, Roumania, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, the representatives of the following countries: India, Indonesia, the United Arab Republic, Ghana and Mexico.

October 1, 1960

Concerning Representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES:

The delegation of the Soviet Union believes it necessary to submit for the consideration of the General Assembly the question of restoring the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

There is not the slightest doubt that the artificial barring of the People's Republic of China from participation in United Nations activities greatly harms our organization, considerably narrows the scope of its activities, hampers the consideration of international problems for the solution of which the collective efforts of all states are required, and renders the fruitful consideration of major problems virtually impossible.

I wish to emphasize particularly that the question concerns the restoration of the rights of a great power which, according to the UN Charter, is a founder and a member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, but which so far has had no possibility of taking its legitimate place, participating in the work of the United Nations and making a contribution to its activities.

The situation is completely abnormal when the great Chinese people, comprising one-fourth of all mankind, has no representatives in the organization that is called upon to be the broadest international forum and is based on the principle of the universal representation of all the countries of the world.

States with diverse social systems and forms of government are represented in the United Nations, and it is here that a realistic image of the contemporary world should be reflected as in a mirror. Under the present state of affairs, however, when there are no representatives of China in the United Nations, a genuine image of the present-day world is not reflected in the United Nations. It is distorted beyond recognition.

It is clear to every man of common sense that the People's Republic of China is a great power that unites the whole Chinese people, and that the Government of the People's Republic of China exercises absolute state power over the entire territory of China, except for a few islands where the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek clique routed by the Chinese people are still holding out temporarily under the protection of the American fleet.

The People's Republic of China has received wide international recognition and has established normal diplomatic relations with 34 states. The international ties of the People's Republic of China are rapidly expanding. The trade and cultural relations of People's China now embrace almost the entire world.

The Chinese people are engaged in a titanic effort to transform their country, which in the recent past was economically backward, into an advanced industrial socialist state. And they are vitally interested in keeping the peace and are in favor of peaceful international economic and cultural cooperation.

China was one of the sponsors of the five principles of peaceful coexistence in 1954. The Government of the People's Republic of China repeatedly submitted proposals aimed at lessening inter-

national tension in the Far East as well as in the whole world. The People's Republic of China made a large contribution to the peaceful settlement in Indochina, Korea and other areas of the Asian continent. The Government of China actively favors the creation of a zone of peace in Asia as well as a zone free from atomic weapons in the Pacific. It proposes a peaceful nonaggression treaty among all countries of Asia and the Pacific, including the United States.

Chou En-lai, the Premier of the Council of State of the People's Republic of China, speaking in Peking on August 1, 1960, re-emphasized that the Government of the People's Republic of China adheres to the policy of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. He said, and I quote: "We want peaceful coexistence not only with Asian and Arab countries but with European countries and countries of other areas of the world as well." "We are in favor," he continued, "of a peaceful nonaggression pact among the Asian countries and the countries of the Pacific, including the USA, so that this entire area may become a zone free from nuclear weapons."

The policy of the Government of China attests convincingly to the fact that it firmly adheres to the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence and that it supports the main objectives and principles of the United Nations by its practical actions, exerts great efforts to widen international cooperation and to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

Then why has the United Nations still been unable to solve the important and absolutely clear question of the representation of People's China? Mainly because the United States of America does not want this. It does its utmost to prevent the People's Republic of China from taking its legitimate place in the United Nations.

At this session of the UN General Assembly many heads of state and government have in all clarity spoken about the absolutely intolerable situation that has taken shape as a result of the great People's China not being represented in the United Nations.

The Government of the United States pursues a hostile and aggressive policy against People's China. The United States, having committed an act of aggression against China as far back as in

1950, forcibly captured the island of Taiwan and continues to use it as a base for carrying out warlike provocations against the People's Republic of China, continues to build up the so-called "deterrent forces" in the Far East and to spend billions of dollars for assistance to the Chiang Kai-shekists and for the preparation of new war provocations.

The United States has set up numerous military bases along the Chinese frontiers. In the past eighteen months it has undertaken more than forty major military maneuvers in the Far East area, of which almost half were in Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits. The American generals make no secret of the fact that these maneuvers were spearheaded against the People's Republic of China.

And at the same time highly placed American political leaders hypocritically talk of the "aggressive nature" of the People's Republic of China. They constantly harp on the illegal resolution proclaiming China an "aggressor" which the United States in the past has foisted upon the General Assembly. Incidentally, it would be appropriate in connection with the above-mentioned resolution to inquire whose troops are at present stationed in Korea. If the State Department has a short memory, it can be recalled that Chinese volunteers have long since left that country, while American troops continue to occupy South Korea.

The attempts of the United States Government to revive a political corpse like Chiang Kai-shek and his putrid regime, which was rejected by the Chinese people, merely poison the international atmosphere in the Far East.

Distinguished delegates,

It is now more than ten years that the United Nations has been considering the question of People's China taking its legitimate seat in the United Nations. Each time this rostrum is taken by representatives of states who express the attitude of their governments toward this important question. Each time the states are, in the main, divided into two groups when discussing this item. One group follows the logic of the actual state of affairs, protects the legitimate rights of the great Chinese people, and declares plainly and openly, without hesitation, that it is time to eliminate a great historical injustice and to invite the Government of the People's Republic of China to send its delegation, which would

be here together with all of us in the United Nations and would take part in all its activities.

Under various pretexts the representatives of other states have been dodging a just decision and, in this way or another, have been trailing in the wake of the United States Government in thwarting the acceptance by the United Nations of the decision to restore the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The arguments which the United States Government adduces against People's China can sound convincing only for those who follow in the footsteps of the American politicians who more than ten years ago sustained a fiasco in China as a result of the fall of the mercenary Kuomintang regime and the victory of the Chinese People's Revolution.

It is well known that for sixteen years the American ruling circles did not recognize the Soviet Union for the sole reason that our people had destroyed the bourgeois-landlord system and had carried through the Great Socialist Revolution. Naturally, our people did not ask the permission of any American politicians. The Chinese people, led by their Communist Party, acted likewise.

We do not doubt that the time will come when the political leaders of the United States will show a more sober approach to People's China and will, instead of the hostility which is today manifest at every step, regard that great country with dignity and respect.

Until the People's Republic of China takes its legitimate seat in the United Nations no conditions can be created for genuine negotiations and for the solution of the disarmament question. Indeed, if any agreement is reached on disarmament, will such an agreement be valid without China? After all, even if a disarmament agreement is negotiated, the United States will declare that it cannot be implemented because of China's non-participation, while it is the United States itself that is blocking in every possible way the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

We insistently urge you, distinguished delegates, to break this vicious circle. There cannot indeed be any disarmament without China, there cannot be any normal functioning of the United Nations without China.

Sensing the absurdity of the version that China is "represented" in the United Nations by the Chiang Kai-shekists and fearing for the fate of the Kuomintang stooges, the United States and certain other Western countries are attempting to railroad through the notorious idea of "two Chinas." But it is after all no secret to anybody that the idea of "two Chinas" is, in effect, a poorly camouflaged strategem aimed at dismembering the territory of Great China and tearing away the province of Taiwan, which is one of its parts.

It has long been clear that the provocative plans for creating "two Chinas" are doomed to failure, and the sooner certain political leaders in the United States understand this, the better it will be for the cause of world peace.

Those who think that it is the People's Republic of China that is most in need of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations are mistaken. These gentlemen are making a mistake. If the purpose of our organization as a universal organization uniting all nations is interpreted correctly, it is difficult to say who is in greater need of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations, whether it is China itself or the United Nations, which is called upon to be the broadest and most representative international organization. This organization is in need of such a great nation, such a great country as the People's Republic of China being represented in the United Nations and taking an active part in its work.

That is why the Soviet delegation proposes that the question of the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations be considered and resolved as an important and pressing question at the very outset of the work of the General Assembly session.

Allow me, Messrs. Delegates, to reply to the speech of the United States representative, who argued the necessity of continuing the present bankrupt policy with regard to the People's Republic of China and suggested that the Soviet proposal to restore China's legitimate rights in the United Nations be rejected.

The United States representative referred here to the speech of Comrade P'eng Chen, the Peking Mayor. I know Comrade P'eng Chen well; and had you seen him, you would realize that

he is absolutely not the kind of person he was presented to be here. He is a good man who enjoys respect in his country. The representative of the United States referred to the fact that Comrade P'eng Chen called the United States an imperialist power. But is this a discovery, gentlemen? Indeed, the whole world knows that the most imperialist power supporting the colonial regimes is the United States of America. All the sparrows are chirping this from the rooftops. And the United States representative, you see, is incensed by this statement of Comrade P'eng Chen's. What innocence! Just like a woman who tries to pass for a young girl even though she may have a dozen children. The United States representative also stated that Comrade P'eng Chen had said that Mr. Hammarskjold had followed in the Congo a policy in the interests of American imperialism, in the interests of the colonialists. Is this any news either? Mr. Hammarskjold himself knows better than P'eng Chen, whose policy he followed in the Congo, that he is a loyal servant of monopoly capital and represents in the United Nations the interests of states which are pursuing a piratical, imperialist, colonial policy.

The United States representative said that the People's Republic of China is attempting to seize islands in the Pacific. But what islands. I ask you, Mr. Representative of United States imperialism? The People's Republic of China wants to liberate Taiwan and other islands. To whom do these islands belong?

Look at the international agreements on this score which also bear the signature of the American state's representative and you will see that they say that Taiwan and the other islands located close to the Chinese coast belong to the Chinese people. The liberation of these islands is the legitimate right of the People's Republic of China, and we have supported these legitimate rights of the Chinese people and will continue to support them. Moreover, I should say that the Government of the People's Republic of China is displaying great constraint with regard to the liberation of these islands. But this is their internal affair and no one has any right to interfere. But had the Soviet Union found itself in a similar position, you may be sure that we would not have tolerated the occupation of our territory and would have long ago thrown all the traitors to the devil, so as to banish their very scent, so that these islands may belong to the people.

The United States delegate enlarged here on the regime in People's China. He indulged in many distortions and fabrications concerning repressions of some sort allegedly taking place there. All this is malicious slander of People's China. This is not a new trick. How much was the Soviet Union slandered, how many times was its doom forecast! But the Soviet Union lives and prospers. There is no system more democratic than that of the socialist states.

Is it for you, gentlemen from the United States, to say what democracy is? Sooner or later you will have to take a lesson in organizing a system under which the rights of every man are truly respected. Genuine democracy is possible only under socialism, under communism. Before speaking about regimes in socialist countries, I should recommend that the American representative look in a mirror and see what kind of regime exists in the United States.

The United States representative appealed here to the African countries and claimed that the United States loved these countries and was taking care of them. But, my dear gentlemen, in your democratic country can the representatives of these states—if they do not have United Nations credentials—stay at a hotel, get a lunch or dinner in a restaurant for whites? No, they cannot. This is humiliating, insulting to the dignity of every man. In America there is a sharp line between whites and Negroes. Is that democracy, is that respect for man? No, this is man-hating, sowing of enmity between whites and blacks.

Let Negroes and representatives of other peoples of Asia and Africa come to our country, to the Soviet Union, to the People's Republic of China, to any socialist country; they will find there a truly humane attitude, love and friendship. They will find this not because they are black but because our peoples deeply sympathize with those who are fighting for freedom, who for centuries have suffered, have been humiliated and oppressed by the colonialists.

In America Negroes are lynched and hanged only because they are black. All the world knows this. This is the subject of books, of press reports. Turn to your history, representative of the United States! We bow our heads to Abraham Lincoln, the great American who raised the banner of the struggle for the liberation of the Negroes. He was an American and he fought against other Ameri-

cans for the equality of peoples, for justice. But racial discrimination exists in the United States even today.

To this day in a number of localities in the United States Negro children cannot attend schools together with whites. Is this not a shame for a civilized society? And the United States representative deigns to smear the truly democratic regime of the People's Republic of China, which is building socialism. In our country we have a saying in such cases which runs somewhat like this: "He who lives in a glass house should not throw stones."

The United States representative smeared the regime of the People's Republic of China. To this I would say: the ruling circles of the United States are very friendly with regimes which are far from being democratic.

You regard Franco as your best friend—the butcher of the Spanish people, who has suppressed all democratic freedom in Spain, established a regime of bloody dictatorship, and is chopping off the heads of Spain's finest sons. But the Spanish people will rise to the struggle, will mete out just retribution to the butchers, and truth will triumph on Spanish soil!

(*The President of the General Assembly interrupted Khrushchev and asked him to cooperate and refrain from personal attacks on the head of a member state of the United Nations. He said that these words by the speaker would be omitted from the official record of the session.*)

I consider the President's remark improper. Why didn't you stop the representative of the United States when he slandered great China? In the United Nations there must be equal conditions for all states, and if you permit insults against socialist countries we shall not tolerate it. I reject such remarks. We did not come here as suppliants, we came as representatives of a great nation, of a great socialist state, and we are defending our friend —the People's Republic of China, its regime, its laws!

Now concerning the Franco regime. The United States maintains friendly treaty relations with this regime, has military bases on Spanish soil for conducting its aggressive imperialist policy.

Another best friend of the Government of the United States, whom it has proclaimed "a man of genius," is Syngman Rhee—the hangman of the Korean people. He brought matters to such a pass that he was booted out of South Korea and secretly made a

getaway from Korea in an American plane. And where is he hiding now? You may rest assured that he is of course kept by the United States of America.

In South Vietnam, too, they are chopping off people's heads, and actually it is the domain of the United States.

I should like to cite another argument in reply to the statement of the United States representative. He reproached Comrade P'eng Chen for having called America an imperialist state and for having called Mr. Hammarskjold, who is the Secretary-General of the United Nations (although I think this injustice will be rectified), a conductor of the policy of the colonialists. But if the representative of the United States considers that it is logical to demand, on this ground, that the People's Republic of China not be admitted to the United Nations, may it be asked: why then, do the representatives of the United States tolerate the presence of representatives of the Soviet Union, who now, as before, oppose the imperialist policy of the United States and the disgraceful role played by Mr. Hammarskjold in the Congo?

One more argument. It is your business, Messrs. Delegates, how you decide the question of restoring the legitimate rights of People's China in the United Nations. Sometimes when certain persons make unjust decisions, they consider these decisions to be right. But time, history, show such decisions to be false. What is the object of the people who deny China her rights in the United Nations? Do they want the United Nations to consist only of states with one social system? They do not like the People's Republic of China, they do not like the socialist system. But what would happen if the socialist countries withdrew from the United Nations and created an international organization of their own, if they appealed to other countries urging support for their efforts in the struggle for peace? That would be the death of the United Nations. That would mean no United Nations but two alignments which would be continuously ranged against each other. That would lead not to the lessening but rather to the aggravation of international tension, to an arms race. We do not want this. What we do want is that the United Nations really unite all states, regardless of their social and political systems, that it really unite all nations. Our common duty is to ensure life on earth without war between states, without armed conflict; and this can be at-

tained only if all states are united in a single organization—the organization of the United Nations. That is why we support the United Nations.

He who wants peace on earth, he who wants disarmament must vote for the People's Republic of China to take her legitimate place in the United Nations, for her to take part in the activities of this organization aimed at strengthening peace.

What the United States representative is suggesting here is a reflection of the old imperialist policy of inciting states against each other. That is why it does not want China to take her place in the United Nations. And they need this in order to follow the policy of the cold war, of the arms race, to thwart the possibility of agreement on disarmament. This is being done in pursuance of the policy of Dulles, the "brink of war" policy. But we know that any brink is a most precarious place, and even the best acrobat who undergoes special training may topple over at any time. It sometimes happens that he does topple and this is the end of him. This is a misfortune for the person. But if the policy of brinkmanship "topples" from this brink, that will be a catastrophe for all the countries of the world, because this will be a terrible, a nuclear missile war.

Those who fail to grasp this should stop to think about it.

In order to prevent a further aggravation of international tension it is essential to restore the rights of People's China in the United Nations. It is necessary to throw the Chiang Kai-shekist corpse to the devil and give the place in the United Nations to a real living body—the People's Republic of China.

October 3, 1960

A Reply on the Question of the Structure of UN Governing Bodies

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES:

By way of reply to the speeches of certain delegates I should like to explain once more the position of the Soviet delegation on an important matter placed before the present General Assembly of the United Nations for consideration. What I have in mind is the role and place of the executive organ of the United Nations which we are suggesting instead of the office of Secretary-General.

I am doing so in order to give a rebuff to those who distort our position as well as to explain it to those to whom the meaning of this proposal is not as yet clear, but who want to study and understand it correctly.

You will recall that the United Nations was created in 1945. In the circumstances attending the victorious termination of World War II, the best minds of that time thought about ways for establishing normal relations among states, for creating an international body which could solve outstanding problems arising between states or groups of states so as to prevent matters from becoming aggravated and especially to preclude war. This was the main task before the United Nations.

A charter of this organization was drafted which provided that there exist a General Assembly comprising all states which have accepted the United Nations Charter and meet the demands of the Charter.

For the solution of important questions, especially when they cause tension, there was established a Security Council so that it would be possible to reduce this tension without allowing matters to become aggravated, much less result in war.

The Soviet Union, China, the United States of America, Great Britain and France, the great countries of that time, were approved as permanent members of the Security Council. It was laid down by the Charter of the United Nations that decisions taken by the Security Council require the unanimity of these five states. This was not accidental. It reflected the wisdom of the sponsors and creators of the United Nations who took into account the real international conditions of that time.

Fifteen years have now passed since the United Nations was founded. Have any changes taken place in the world since that time? Yes indeed, tremendous changes have occurred. He who fails to realize this is in a heavy sleep and remains in the same state he was in fifteen years ago with all his old views and understanding of world problems. But we are dealing, or rather should be dealing, not with persons in a state of heavy sleep but with persons who have lived all this time and worked together with their peo-

ples and states, who see that great social and political changes have occurred in the world. When World War II ended, there were only two socialist states in all the world—the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic.

Unfortunately, this republic has not yet been admitted to the United Nations, and I would like to stress once more that such an attitude toward the Mongolian People's Republic is absolutely unjustifiable.

The leader of the capitalist world—the United States of America—emerged from the war the richest and economically most powerful state; the United States lost less than other countries during the war but earned from it more than any other state.

In the early postwar years the Soviet Union had a powerful army but a devastated national economy, and the three imperialist powers hoped that our state would soon breathe its last. They hoped that the existence of the socialist system on earth would thus end and socialism would survive only as an ideological and theoretical question.

But all these hopes of the imperialists, colonialists and monopoly capital proved to be illusory, and collapsed.

Not only did the Soviet Union restore its strength, but it also developed at a rate of advance which astonished all mankind. We train annually more than 100,000 engineers, we have created the world's first atomic power station, built the first atomic icebreaker, which is successfully breaking the ice in the Arctic Ocean. We have been the first to launch rockets into outer space. The successes of the Soviet Union have proved how great are the advantages of the socialist system, how boundless are the possibilities that socialism and communism offer for the development of the talents of the people.

The road of socialism has been adopted by great China, which is successfully developing her economy and culture. People's China offers one more objective illustration of how peoples liberated from imperialist oppression can quickly gain strength, consolidate their independence, overcome the economic and cultural backwardness of their countries.

Highly instructive is the example of Czechoslovakia. In the past it was a highly developed industrial capitalist country. Bourgeois ideologists contended that only backward, underdeveloped

countries provide the ground for socialism. Czechoslovakia refuted these fabrications and demonstrated that even a highly developed country which embarks on the road of socialism provides its people with unparalleled conditions for rapid progress, for a better life.

Or take the German Democratic Republic (GDR). Having adopted the path of peace, progress and socialism, the population of the German Democratic Republic put an end to the oppression of monopolies and militarism. Now the GDR is a peace-loving and rapidly developing country. It threatens no one. Quite different is the situation in West Germany. Its economy is developing on capitalist foundations, there is a revival of the same forces—revanchism, militarism, fascism—which had plunged the world into the Second World War. A hotbed of a new military war menace is developing there and it follows not a peaceful but a warlike policy.

These are only separate examples which show that socialism augurs peace, progress, prosperity, complete salvation from all the calamities and vices of capitalism for all mankind. Socialism has securely won its place on our planet, has earned the recognition and respect of the peoples.

The socialist states of Europe and Asia unite under their banners more than one billion people; they demonstrate to the whole world the advantages of the new and young socialist system over moribund capitalism.

I would like to draw the attention of the esteemed delegates to the Assembly to the question, apparently so simple: is it possible to ignore the fact that more than one billion of a global population of three billion live in countries most of which have formed and shaped their socialist statehood in the course of the past fifteen years?

It would seem that serious political leaders cannot ignore the new social structure of the world which is having a decisive influence on international relations today.

If this irrefutable fact is recognized, and only politically shortsighted people can refuse to recognize it, it will become crystal clear that the structure of certain organs of the United Nations which was quite normal at that time and was in line with the actual state of affairs is now outmoded. More than one-third

of the global population are to some extent discriminated against in the United Nations agencies, as, for instance, in the Security Council and particularly in the Secretariat. President Sukarno of Indonesia described this correctly in his speech here. Besides the large and powerful detachment of socialist countries, new young states, following a neutralist policy, have emerged on the international scene.

There is great India, which only recently was a British colony; there is Indonesia, a former Dutch colony; Burma and the United Arab Republic; there are young states of Africa and Asia. They have become independent countries and their population exceeds one billion. But the interests of these countries are not taken into consideration either in the Security Council or in the Secretariat of the United Nations.

We all live on one planet and therefore we must search for ways to normalize the relations among all states, to establish cooperation on an equal footing. The United Nations must be precisely the forum, the body where such cooperation is effected in the broadest and fairest way in the interests of preserving peace.

When the Soviet Government raises the question, for instance, of reorganizing the General Secretariat, this only shows our sincere concern for the necessity of ensuring the correct functioning of the United Nations; it shows that we take into consideration the interests of the peoples of all countries instead of the interests of some group of countries or even some circles.

Now one man is the interpreter and executant of all the decisions of the Assembly and the Security Council. But an old saying has it: there are no saints on earth and there have never been. Let those who believe that there are saints keep their belief. We have no faith in such fables.

And so this one man, Mr. Hammarskjold in this case, must interpret and execute the decisions of the Assembly and the Security Council with due consideration for the interests of the countries of monopoly capital, the interests of the socialist countries, and the interests of the neutralist countries. But this is impossible. Everyone has seen how vigorously the imperialist countries have been defending the position of Mr. Hammarskjold. Is it not clear whose interests he interprets and executes, to whom this "saint" belongs?

Mr. Hammarskjold has never been objective toward socialist countries; he has always defended the interests of the United States of America and other countries of monopoly capital. The developments in the Congo, where he played a most unseemly role, were but the last straw that has exhausted our patience. Indeed, had the composition of the Secretariat and the Security Council been different, no particularly tense developments would have taken place in the Congo. The colonialists would not have dared to seize power again; and had they done so, the United Nations forces not only would have expelled them but would have created conditions for the normal functioning of the Parliament and government lawfully elected by the Congolese people.

When the colonialists granted independence to the Congo, they expected it to be only fictitious. But the Congolese Government decided to defend its political and economic rights in all seriousness. It enraged the colonialists, they embarked on a military gamble and decided to impose on the Congolese people the old colonial order under the guise of fictitious independence.

I repeat, unfortunately in the United Nations the Congolese people did not find a protector of their interests. Is this the way to fulfill the tasks and purposes of the United Nations?

Mr. Hammarskjold used the United Nations Armed Forces not to support the lawful Parliament and government of the Congo, at whose request these troops were sent there, but to support the forces of the colonialists who were and are fighting against the Congolese Parliament and the lawful government in order to resubjugate the Congo. He used the United Nations Forces to interfere in the internal affairs of the young state. No one can tolerate any longer a situation in which the United Nations is used not to help the Congolese people, but to act against them, in which the United Nations acts in the interests of the colonialists. This was justly noted here by the leaders of the delegations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Ghana, the United Arab Republic, Cuba, Indonesia and others.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I want to repeat: we do not and cannot trust Mr. Hammarskjold. Unless he himself shows enough courage and resigns, which would be a chivalrous act, so to speak, we shall draw the necessary conclusions from the situation now obtaining. A man who has trampled upon elementary

justice is not fit to occupy such an important post as that of the Secretary-General.

Some people may say that probably Mr. Hammarskjold should be replaced by another, more worthy person. They reason in the following way: suppose Mr. Hammarskjold made a gross mistake; is it not possible to rectify it by replacing him by another man? This, of course, could be done. But would we thus safeguard the United Nations against the repetition of similar mistakes in the future? I do not think so. Any other Secretary-General cannot be an objective representative of the three different groups of states.

Now, unfortunately, there is a certain bias in the work of the United Nations, in the work of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Secretary-General. So far only one group of countries, led by the United States, dominates here; and it dominates now not even by the right of the strong. At present these states have lost the so-called right of the strong because nothing but a fetish remains of the former strength which helped the colonialists to keep the colonial peoples in subjugation.

The actual state of affairs in the world today is such that the strength of the two most powerful states—the Soviet Union and the United States—is at least equal; and if we take into consideration other socialist countries and also former colonial countries, it will become clear that the peace-loving states have not only the law and justice but also strength on their side.

And if this is not taken into consideration, the United Nations will, of course, not be able to function. Strictly speaking, it will then fully lose its significance because it will be unable to fulfill its main task—to maintain peace among nations.

But then why should we speak of the future? We see now the result of the one-sided approach to the solution of the questions confronting the United Nations due to the predominance of the imperialist states in this organization. The post of the Secretary-General is occupied by a representative of the Western Powers; no representative of the socialist countries has even once been allowed to take the post of the President of the General Assembly in fifteen years. This is a situation that calls for no special explanation!

The pressure of the imperialist countries at the General Assembly becomes particularly evident in settling the question of

the restoration of China's legitimate rights in the United Nations. I have already spoken about this and I am repeating this again for those who are thwarting the solution of the question on the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, for those who this time again follow in the wake of the imperialist powers. It must be clear to everyone that this injustice must be rectified at long last. No disarmament is possible without China; without China there can be no normal work of the United Nations.

But it is important that the United Nations be able to quench the heat of war in time, wherever it may appear. How can it be done? It can be done only by taking into consideration the interests of all three groups of states, by taking into consideration the interests of the colonial peoples as well. Now the colonialists are doing their utmost to perpetuate the regime of slavery in colonial countries, and in the countries whose peoples are winning their independence the colonialists are trying to hoodwink them by granting fictitious independence while actually trying to perpetuate the colonialist regime.

Thus, in view of the present conditions, is it possible to choose one man for the post of the United Nations Secretary-General who would be able to reckon with the interests of all three groups of states? We think that this is impossible. Of course, from the viewpoint of devotion to the ideas of peace, the ideas of humaneness, one might appoint to the post of Secretary-General a representative of the socialist states, and such a man would truly reflect the most progressive ideas of human society, the ideas of ensuring peace. But it is a foregone conclusion that the Western Powers would distrust such a person and this distrust is quite understandable.

But if we ourselves admit that the appointment of a representative of the socialist countries to the post of United Nations Secretary-General would not create normal conditions for the work of this body, how can the Western Powers demand that we believe in the objectivity of their candidate, in this case Mr. Hammarskjold? The neutralist countries also want to play their part in the United Nations; they want their interests to be safeguarded, and these legitimate demands of the neutralist countries must be taken into consideration.

Therefore the only correct solution would be to set up an executive in which the three groups of states would be represented by three persons so that they could execute the decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly.

Some people say that if the United Nations executive consists of three members, it will be paralyzed. But the task of the people appointed to the executive will be precisely to find such wise solutions as would secure peace, and this means that they must take into account the interests of all groups of states. If the decisions are made in the interests of only one group—for instance, if the decisions are made, as is the case now, in the interests of the imperialist states only—they will be unrealistic decisions. Let us take a sober view of the matter. The imperialist states have no practical basis for breathing life into such unilateral decisions because they are unable to impose their decisions by force.

Those who allege that the Soviet Union advances proposals which break up the United Nations assess the work of the United Nations only from the viewpoint of one group of states. When we say that the interests of the first, second and third group of states are to be taken into account, they claim that this "destroys the United Nations." No, this is a just demand. And tomorrow, if not today, the peoples of the world will understand that the United Nations must take into consideration the interests of all states. The other way is the domination of one group of states, and this would not mean solution of problems but aggravation of international tension, which may even lead to armed conflict.

Messrs. Delegates, sacred is the striving of all peoples to ensure peace on earth, and disarmament is the best guarantee of peace. It is precisely disarmament that all peace-loving people long for. It cannot be replaced by control over armaments without disarmament. If our disarmament proposals are accepted, we are prepared to accept any Western proposals on international control.

And what is the meaning of the control over armaments which United States President Eisenhower offers us and of which Prime Minister Macmillan of Great Britain has also spoken here? Control over armaments means admission of the necessity to have armaments in the future as well. But it is clear to everyone that if armaments exist, then at a critical moment all those who have

arms in their possession will, willingly or unwillingly, reach for the holster, reach for these arms.

At a critical moment those who have arms in their possession and follow the "from position of strength" policy will not ask the opinion of the Security Council or convene the General Assembly to discuss the question of whether or not they should use their weapons; they are sure to use them.

And if this happens, then, apparently, no Assembly would meet, because war with all its destructive consequences would follow.

Therefore, the best way to safeguard peace is to do away with the means of destroying people, that is, to do away with armaments. This is the Soviet people's sincere desire. We stated long ago, through the mouth of the founder of the Soviet state Lenin, that we are for disarmament. At this Assembly the Soviet Government has once again set forth its viewpoint and submitted its specific proposals for your consideration.

Therefore, I insistently urge you to realize the exceptional importance of the disarmament problem for all peoples of the world, for our contemporaries and for the generations to come. The efforts of all countries and all peoples are needed to compel the governments of the countries on whom agreement depends to carry out general and complete disarmament in practice. Some people say that Khrushchev and Eisenhower should be locked up in some special chamber and kept there until they agree on disarmament. This, of course, is naive. We can sit there as long as you like, but if the President, and especially the circles backing him have no desire to agree, then no smoke will rise from the chimney, as happens according to tradition when the Pope is elected.

It is all the more true since in this case we are not dealing with the question of electing the Pope but with the much more complicated question of disarmament and the prevention of the threat of war, a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people.

It is said that after a disarmament agreement is reached, international armed forces must be formed. In principle we agree with this. But the question arises: who is going to command them? The United Nations Secretary-General? But in such a case the

decisions on these or other actions will depend on the ethical convictions, on the conscience of the United Nations Secretary-General. Is it permissible to make the destiny of millions contingent on the actions of one man occupying this post? We cannot rely on the conscience of the Secretary-General because everyone has his own view on conscience, his own understanding of ethics.

The capitalist world has its own ethics, the communist world its own, and the neutralist countries their own.

Therefore, with due consideration for the practical conditions, we must ensure a structure of the United Nations apparatus which would reflect the actual state of affairs in the world and express the interests of the peoples of different groups of states. There can be no disarmament, no international armed forces can be set up unless all three groups are safeguarded against the abuses of these armed forces.

How can this be ensured? We want no privileges for ourselves, but we do not want others to have privileges over us. We want all to be on an equal footing.

Therefore, if you gentlemen really want disarmament, if you want the international organs to work in this direction for peaceful purposes, then the United Nations apparatus must be reconstructed so that the United Nations Secretariat and the Security Council may reflect in their work the interests of the three basic groups of states, in order that the interests of all the United Nations member states may be protected.

Some persons utter sharp words and bitter accusations here, alleging that Khrushchev is breaking up the United Nations. We reject these accusations and declare most definitely that the aim of the Soviet Union's proposals is to consolidate the United Nations.

We want the United Nations to be indeed an organ in which the interests of all groups among the United Nations member states are taken into consideration and protected equally. The ensuring of world peace must be the bedrock of the entire activity of the United Nations.

But the states which pursue their own narrow group interests, dominating the interests of other groups of states, are dealing a blow at the United Nations; and, in the final count, if they persist

in carrying on their line, they will lead the United Nations to its destruction.

If the machinery designed to settle the most important international issues with due consideration for the interests of all states, if this machinery of the United Nations—the Security Council and the Secretariat—settle these questions to the detriment of the socialist or neutralist states, then naturally, these countries will not recognize such decisions and will rely on their own strength in defending the interests of their states, the interests of peace.

This is the choice now facing the UN. Either we truly unite our efforts and do everything to consolidate the United Nations and thus ensure cooperation of all states toward peace, or the forces reflecting the interests and privileges of a group of imperialist states will continue to dominate the United Nations and its machinery, which will greatly damage the cause of peace and international cooperation.

Those who support the policy of force and are trying to impose their will on others through the United Nations should clearly realize what place they occupy and what responsibility for the future they assume before the world.

I would like in all frankness to say to the delegates of the current session: do not fall for the high-sounding phrases pronounced here by Mr. Hammarskjold and the representatives of colonial powers who are trying to justify the bloody deeds committed against the people of the Congo by colonialists and their hangers-on.

I would like to say that the United States representative who spoke here is defending the old, the rotten, that which is already collapsing. But neither the representative who spoke here for the United States nor others will succeed in propping it up: a dead man cannot be made to breathe. Colonialism has lived out its time. Our duty is to bury this stinking corpse as soon as possible and thus cleanse the atmosphere and create a better life for all the people in the world.

Our sympathy, I repeat, is with those who are fighting for their freedom and independence!

Some people say that Khrushchev is calling for rebellion. I am not calling for rebellion, because the question of rebellion against unwanted order in any country is settled by the people

themselves. I only said that if the colonialists do not agree to grant independence and freedom to the colonial peoples, then the peoples of the colonial countries can do nothing else but rise against the shameful oppression, and all people of integrity must offer a helping hand to those who are fighting for their dignity, against robbery, against the colonialists.

We extend a hand to all who still suffer in the chains of colonial slavery. If you regard this as a call to rebellion, I am proud of this and say that the freedom-loving peoples of the Soviet Union extend a hand of assistance to the peoples rising against the colonialists, for their freedom and independence!

Esteemed Delegates,

The question uppermost in the mind of all mankind now is whether the problem of disarmament will be solved, whether we shall achieve a solution of this vital question.

We, on our part, firmly declare that we have come here with the most honest intentions and are willing to do our utmost to make peace prevail on earth, and not only peace but also friendship among the peoples.

The Soviet Government will continue to work honestly toward this goal, as the sower works so that people may have a good harvest. He selects the best grains and throws them into the soil. When he throws the seeds into the soil, he is not sure that a good and favorable spring and summer lie ahead. No, he knows that the sprouts of these seeds may encounter droughts, storms and hurricanes. And it also happens that some grains just fall into rocky soil.

But the man who sows cannot help working. He cannot fold his hands if the forces of nature operate against his efforts. He does not argue: is it worthwhile to work, to sow? Man lives and wants to live! And that is why he is tirelessly working to ensure life for the living, a better life for the peoples.

At the bidding of our people, we have come here and are persistently sowing the seeds of peace. Perhaps not all our seeds will fall into fertile soil. On the contrary, I am even convinced that some of the seeds fall into rocky soil. But gentlemen, you have certainly seen how a powerful pine tree grows on what seems to be the most barren rocks. It is difficult to say what it thrives on. But it grows!

We believe that if some of our seeds of peace fall into rocky soil, not all of them perish, because they are sound seeds, the seeds of human truth, and they are sown in the name of truth and human life. We are convinced that these seeds will grow, will push through the rocks to reach a nutritive medium and will develop into a strong and powerful tree of life. We believe in life and fight for it, for the triumph of peace on earth.

We are convinced that the seeds of truth will reach the minds of the peoples to whom we are appealing; we are convinced that the people sowing sound seeds, the seeds of truth, the seeds of life will be rewarded for their labor by the reaffirmation of truth and by the victory of the forces of reason and peace over the forces of war. To achieve this one must tirelessly sow the seeds of truth, urge the people to fight for this truth, to fight against evil dry winds and storms. And if all fight, precisely all and not just a group of states, this truth will prevail and peace on earth will be safeguarded.

Thank you for your attention.

October 3, 1960

Reply to Letter and Draft Resolution Received From the Heads of Government of Ghana, India, Indonesia, United Arab Republic and Yugoslavia

On September 29th, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR received the following letter from President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India, President Sukarno of Indonesia, President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the United Arab Republic, and President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia.

MR. CHAIRMAN:

We have the honor of informing you that in view of the existing tension in international relations and being confident that you, Your Excellency, the Government and people of your great power are striving ardently for the lessening of this tension and for establishing conditions for the consolidation of peace, we intend to submit for the immediate consideration of the current General Assembly session a draft resolution the text of which is enclosed herein.

We hope that this effort of ours will meet with your sympathetic and favorable attitude.

We avail ourselves of the opportunity to assure again, Your Excellency, of our high esteem for you.

The Draft Resolution submitted by the five governments to the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly read as follows:

The General Assembly,

Deeply concerned with the recent deterioration in international relations which threatens the world with grave consequences,

Aware of the great expectancy of the world that this Assembly will assist in helping to prepare the way for the easing of world tension,

Conscious of the grave and urgent responsibility that rests on the United Nations to initiate helpful efforts,

Requests, as a first urgent step, the President of the United States of America and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics to renew their contacts interrupted recently so that their declared willingness to find solutions of the outstanding problems by negotiation may be progressively implemented.

Chairman Khrushchev's reply to the President of Ghana read as follows:

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, MR. KWAME NKRUMAH,
THE PRESIDENT OF GHANA:

The Soviet Government and I personally as the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR have a high opinion of the motives by which you, as well as the President of Indonesia, the President of the United Arab Republic, the President of Yugoslavia and the Prime Minister of India were guided in sending this letter and a draft resolution of the General Assembly to the President of the United States and myself, with expressions of a desire for the resumption of contacts between the President and myself, so that it would become possible to discuss questions which at present cloud the international situation, and to find solutions for these questions through negotiations. This message shows once again that the state of international relations is far from normal today and that the international situation, particularly the relations

between the Soviet Union and the United States, evokes a legitimate feeling of anxiety among many states and leading statesmen.

The Soviet Government has always been and still is of the opinion that unsolved international problems, including the problems of relations between the USSR and the USA, must and can be settled peacefully through negotiations if the sides concerned desire to do so. Guided by this the Soviet Government insisted on the necessity of the discussion of such problems at the highest level, considering that most radical decisions, adopted through an understanding between the leading statesmen, are necessary for the improvement of the international situation and the solution of disputed problems, particularly the disarmament problem which would put an end to the senseless destruction of tremendous material values and the wasting of the energy of nations for the production of the means of destruction. It is precisely for this reason that the Soviet Government insisted on calling a Summit conference and expressed the hope that this conference would lead to a radical change in the international situation and help to consolidate peace and eliminate the contradictions existing between states.

It is generally known what happened after an agreement on calling a Summit conference was reached. Just at the time when the peoples, including the people of the Soviet Union, were hopefully anticipating the fruitful results of this conference, the US Government right on the eve of the Summit embarked upon a path of treachery which assumed the nature of such aggressive acts as the violation of the state frontier of the USSR by the American U-2 military aircraft. It is common knowledge that the US Government through the President himself and the Secretary of State confirmed that these acts, as well as the subsequent violation of the Soviet state frontier by the American RB-47 plane, were manifestations of a certain "deliberate policy" of the United States. It has also been confirmed that the US Government and President Eisenhower personally have no intentions of relinquishing this policy and still continue it to the present day.

The US Government has not provided the least compensation to the Soviet Union which suffered damages as a result of a crude violation of its sovereignty by American aircraft. But on the contrary it has many times affirmed the above-mentioned treacherous

policy in spite of the fact that this policy constitutes an outrageous and unprecedented violation of the very foundations of international law and of the sacred principle of respect for the sovereignty of states. Thus, the American Government has placed itself in a position which apparently makes it difficult for it to embark upon the path of honest negotiations with the Soviet Union. Due to this policy the US President has also personally placed himself in a position where it is apparently hard for him to establish contacts with the head of the Soviet Government, contacts which could produce positive results.

It goes without saying that any attempt to advance some preliminary conditions in establishing such contacts by a party which has taken to perfidy is more evidence that the present US Government has no serious intentions of seeking a settlement of controversial questions splitting the states, through negotiations based on mutual respect for the interests of the parties in these negotiations. This also shows what little respect the US Government has for the aspirations of other states to contribute their share in easing tension in the relations between the big powers. It stands to reason that the position of two such powers as the USSR and the USA is of paramount importance for the further development of international relations. However, the active role of other states, big and small, and of the United Nations Organization as a whole in settling outstanding problems can by no means be underestimated.

Responsibility for the situation which has arisen lies with the US Government and only with the US Government. I am deeply convinced that every statesman capable of objectively evaluating this situation cannot but draw the conclusion as to who is putting obstacles in the way of a resumption of contacts between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States of America for the settlement of questions causing tension in the relations between countries, mentioned in your appeal and in the draft resolution.

The situation as we see it today is that the US Government, far from denouncing the above-mentioned actions, even in spite of the fact that President Eisenhower personally declared in Paris that he had given instructions to refrain in future from sending US planes inside the Soviet Union while he remained in the

White House, is pursuing the announced aggressive course of foreign policy. Only this can explain why in his speech at the General Assembly and in his reply letter to your appeal he maintains silence on the question of the sending of American U-2 warplanes inside the Soviet Union and raises the question about the American RB-47 plane flight which, as we all know, took place after the breakdown of the Summit meeting and after the President's statement on the discontinuation of such flights of US planes inside the Soviet Union.

It is obvious that if the US Government continues in future to follow the aforementioned policy, then under these conditions not a single self-respecting state, showing concern for the integrity of its sovereignty and its security, can have faith in statements by the US Government of its desire to improve relations between the USSR and the USA. This fully refers to the disarmament problem as well, if we take into account that the attitude of the USA toward disarmament questions is obviously aimed at breaking up any fruitful talk on disarmament and proceeds not from the necessity of disarmament under strict international control, but from the establishment of control over armament, i.e., the setting up of an approved system of international espionage under the UN flag.

The Soviet Government not only lives in the past but looks to the future as well. Whatever tense relations there may be between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, these relations can be improved if the government leaders rise above one or another of personal prejudices and feelings of hostility, and are guided by the great responsibility resting on their shoulders for the destinies of the world. It is the profound conviction of the Soviet Government that the present worsened state in relations between the USSR and the USA can be overcome. However, this requires a clear admission of what caused these relations to deteriorate. What is needed is a clear admission that it was caused by the unprecedented perfidious actions of the US Government which took the road of committing provocative, aggressive acts against the Soviet Union. In other words, we are ready to establish contact and start negotiations with the President and the Government of the United States of America, having in view that the US Government will find the courage to condemn the above-

mentioned actions, which caused Soviet-American relations to worsen, and will manifest goodwill in bettering these relations in deeds.

Such are the considerations of the Soviet Government, which it deemed necessary to express in reply to the letter addressed by the leaders of five countries to the President of the United States and to me.

Respectfully,
N. KHRUSHCHEV
Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR

New York, October 3, 1960.

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Similar replies were forwarded to the Prime Minister of India, the President of Indonesia, the President of the United Arab Republic, and the President of Yugoslavia.

October 7, 1960

Meeting With Members of United Nations Journalists Association

On October 7, the United Nations Journalists Association gave a luncheon for the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchev.

The President of the Association, Mr. Paul Sanders, introduced Chairman Khrushchev.

PAUL SANDERS: Mr. Chairman, when we sent our invitation to the *Baltika*, we did not expect you to be so generous with press conferences. We erroneously thought that your acceptance of our invitation would give us certain advantages. Now we see that this might have been interpreted as a kind of monopoly to which you certainly could never agree.

I must say that your treatment of the press can be described in no other way but as most democratic.

Having had the opportunity of watching you for several weeks at General Assembly sessions and having heard many stories about you, I believe that there is much in common between you and the press. They say that you are an emotional man. But, Mr. Chairman, emotions are a source of news to us, and being human, we

are not devoid of emotion, no matter how hard we try to be impartial. You like publicity as much as we do, and this is why we like you.

But more than anything else we know you as a great propagandist of the ideas of peaceful coexistence. We are glad to greet you among us—among those who made coexistence a practical reality. We represent different countries and have different biographies, we belong to different political creeds. We write for papers and magazines or work for radio stations representing the broadest variety of views. But a supreme spirit of comradeship reigns among us. We do not argue on those questions which are likely to divide us, and if there are not too many extraordinary and evening meetings, we often discuss various questions among ourselves in an effort to better understand what is the cause of these difficulties. You will thus see that coexistence is not a problem to us, even if it is a very difficult problem for the world.

But we simply do not know whether you and the others will make a success of the idea of peaceful coexistence on a world scale or how you will do that. We hope that you will explain this to us along with other questions.

In conclusion I should like to say in Russian, so far as my pronunciation permits, *Dobro pozhalovat* (Welcome here).

Gentlemen, I give you Chairman Nikita Khrushchev.

KHRUSHCHEV: Mr. President of the Association, dear gentlemen, comrades, friends,

I am glad to meet you journalists who cover the work of the United Nations. I often meet journalists. Yours is a difficult but a noble profession. The press can help the peoples to understand correctly everything going on in the complex modern world. But the press can also help to disorient the peoples if it is used for the selfish ends of specific circles.

You are very busy nowadays. The Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly is the most significant session since the United Nations was founded. At this session we shall have to consider such major international problems as disarmament and the complete abolition of the disgraceful colonial system. We attach exceptional importance to a successful, agreed solution of these problems. All the peoples are interested in dis-

armament because this is the only way to avoid new, devastating war.

I need not tell you that all these and other questions can be solved, provided there is good will and desire for cooperation among all countries, on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, abstention from aggressive acts and observance of the standards of international law.

In present-day conditions it is ridiculous to try to impose any decisions upon other countries by using a mechanical majority in the United Nations. It is essential that the United Nations take into account the interests of all existing groups of states, both those who belong to Western military alliances and the socialist and neutralist states. The creation of an appropriate structure for the working bodies of the United Nations could help to improve the activities of the United Nations.

I urge all of you to use the force of the pen, your abilities, your influence to create a climate helpful to the activities of the United Nations; I urge you to write truthfully. May a truthful and realistic picture of the world today and of the problems confronting all of us arise before millions of your readers.

Thank you for your attention. Now I am ready to reply to your questions.

* * *

PAULINE FREDERICK (National Broadcasting Company): Mr. Chairman, do you consider that there is any hope for progress in disarmament even before a relaxation of differences is achieved and before the removal of the fear and mistrust existing between the United States and the Soviet Union?

KHRUSHCHEV: To abandon hope for agreement on disarmament would, I think, be tantamount to dooming the world to another war, would be tantamount to an admission of impotence by those people who must think about peace and create the conditions of peaceful coexistence. That is why I am now optimistic about the possibility of reaching agreement on disarmament, and I have declared more than once that such conditions exist.

It is difficult to judge how far these conditions have now matured because the current session of the United Nations General Assembly coincides with a "stormy period" in the life of the

American people. I am referring to the presidential elections. Everyone in the United States is now engaged in this, everything is subordinated to this; and the leaders on whom a solution of the disarmament problem depends consider only which presidential candidate will be elected. This is unfortunate because one leader or another might become president; this is of no decisive importance for international problems for this is the domestic problem of a single country. Well, now everything in the United States is subordinated to the elections, and we must reckon with this. But this is a transient feature.

We believe that everything must be done to safeguard peace, that one must not give up hope but continue a stubborn struggle for peaceful coexistence, for disarmament, for safeguarding an enduring peace throughout the world. But the main thing in the struggle for an enduring peace is disarmament, and not control over armaments as Mr. Eisenhower, the President of the United States, suggests. I repeat, though I have spoken of this many times, I shall go on repeating until everyone understands that disarmament, the destruction of weapons is the only way of avoiding war, while control over armaments means the preservation of arms. And if arms are preserved, even under control, those who own the arms can always use them for aggressive purposes whenever they want to. Therefore everyone who really wants peace must strive not for control over armaments but for disarmament, the destruction of weapons under the strictest, most extensive and penetrating international control.

In this context I should like to clarify another question. I should like to correct the report published in American newspapers on my meeting with Mr. Macmillan. The newspapers reported not quite accurately on the results of my meetings and conversations with Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

We really discussed disarmament, the possibility of reaching agreement on this question. Mr. Macmillan said that one must not be hasty about this question, must wait and see until better conditions are created for confidence between countries. Only then could agreement on disarmament be reached. Mr. Macmillan believes that about five to ten years might be required to create a climate of confidence and that for the time being it would be

better to set up some technical committees of experts to study these questions. To put it in a nutshell, he suggests moving as slowly as many insects, snails and other slow-moving organisms do on earth.

If the question of disarmament is made to depend upon relaxation of tension and establishment of confidence, as some would have it, I shall tell you that this is a most dangerous approach. This is tantamount to arguing about which came first, the chicken or the egg. Which came first, the chicken or the egg—I believe this question has not been solved to this day. Therefore on the question of disarmament, too, to talk about what to begin with—the establishment of conditions for confidence or disarmament—is futile. My position is that we must begin with the main thing, that is, disarmament: we must destroy armaments, establish control to see that no one arms himself. This will create the best conditions for sincere and fraternal relations among all peoples.

Now I should like to say something about the time needed to achieve confidence. If we take a period of five or ten years—such a period has been mentioned—this contradicts the statements of the Western circles themselves, since they say that it is essential to accelerate agreement on disarmament. Is it not a fact that the longer the agreement is delayed, the greater will become, with every passing year, the number of countries possessing atomic weapons and rockets? And if there are more states armed with atomic hydrogen bombs and rockets, the difficulties of reaching agreement on disarmament will become even greater. It would seem that, following from this Western logic, we must speed up disarmament, but Mr. Macmillan says that we must wait five or ten years. This means that now we must doom these negotiations to futility. So the idea seems to me that I, a grandfather, will start these talks and my grandchildren will finish them! This is a chain reaction for which all mankind will have to pay.

I must say that I have many grandchildren and I hope that my grandchildren will follow their grandfather, but I still want to do everything for the grandchildren so that they may live under peaceful conditions, may thank us for having upheld peace.

CHAIRMAN: The next two questions are similar and therefore I have decided to read them simultaneously.

JOSEPH NEWMAN *(New York Herald Tribune)*: Would you accept the results of a two-thirds majority vote in the United Nations to settle the question as to whether or not Mr. Hammarskjold should remain in office as United Nations Secretary-General and to decide on your proposal for a three-man executive?

ARNE TORREN *(Expressen)*: Mr. Chairman, you said in your speech in the Assembly on Monday that you would draw the necessary conclusions from the existing situation if the Secretary-General does not resign. Mr. Hammarskjold replied that he would not abandon his post. Could you tell us what conclusion you have already drawn or going to draw?

KHRUSHCHEV: These two are related questions but they are not identical.

Regarding Mr. Hammarskjold's statement that he will not step down from his post, you have heard what I said in my speech: if Mr. Hammarskjold possessed gentlemanly qualities, he would step down from his post. But I was not sure whether he had such qualities, and in this respect Mr. Hammarskjold fully justified my opinion of him.

Now regarding the decision of the question by a two-thirds majority.

Even if such a decision as you speak about were made by a two-thirds majority, even if it were made by a majority of 99 per cent, we would not agree with such a decision anyhow.

The principles of majority which you determine by two-thirds in solving disputable issues are quite acceptable within a country when domestic—political, economic and other—questions are decided. But in this case we are dealing with a complex international question. This question is decided by countries belonging to the United Nations. But this is not a parliament but an international forum which has been established in order to solve questions in such a way that its decisions would not harm any state belonging to this forum.

If you like, I shall present this question in a more naked form. Suppose the following "ideal" thought were to occur to representatives of member states of the United Nations: let us decide to liquidate the socialist system in the Soviet Union. What would

happen if all, except the representatives of the socialist countries, were to vote for this? What would we have replied to this? We would have said, as is our Russian custom in such cases: "Out with you! You have adopted such a decision and you may live with it; as for us, we have lived under our socialist system and will go on living under it. And if anyone interferes—you will excuse me for such an unrefined but most figurative expression—we shall give him a good punch in the jaw!"

Gentlemen, a very serious question has been raised here. That is why I should like to dwell on it further. I beg you to ponder this question thoroughly. A majority of votes in the United Nations, which consists of imperialist, socialist and neutralist states, is still held by countries of the imperialist, colonial bloc. We, the socialist countries, are today in a minority in the United Nations. But this situation might change. Today we are in a minority, but tomorrow, as we warn you, you will be in a minority. Hence, you must not abuse a temporary majority in the United Nations in order to impose decisions on the minority, because, I repeat, this is not a parliament. We are discussing here not the domestic problems of one country or another, we are discussing international problems with due respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in the affairs of other states. This must be borne in mind, this must be the point of departure. Then a correct solution of the problem will be reached.

Besides, I beg you to ponder seriously our proposal concerning the structure of the United Nations. We do not demand a situation which would give us an equal number of seats with the Western countries in the Security Council and the United Nations Secretariat. We do not ask for a majority, we only ask for our share.

The world has a population of three billion. The socialist countries represent more than one billion of the population. This means more than one-third. But we are not petty and we will not weigh everything on scales up to the precision of a gram. We accept one-third. The imperialist, colonial powers have less than one-third of the world population in their countries, but we tell them: "You take a third too." The neutralist countries account for more than one-third, and we tell them: "You take one-third too."

Thus, all three groups of states would be represented in the United Nations—and this is an international organization—the capitalist, the countries of monopoly capital, the colonial powers; the socialist countries, the countries of the really free world, the freest of the free; and the neutralist countries. And all would have their share, their one-third. This would create equal conditions for all three groups of states. This would make it possible to solve international problems without prejudicing any group of states. Is this not sensible?

We want no privileges but our share to which we are entitled.

If you want to subordinate us to yourselves by a majority and to compel us to settle issues under unequal conditions, you will compel us to uphold our interests not by voting in the United Nations but by acting outside the United Nations, i.e., by relying on our strength, on our might. And this, as you understand, already leads to an aggravation of relations.

Our proposals contain a reasonable starting point. We want a relaxation of international tension, we want peaceful coexistence, we want peace and friendship. You, on the other hand, struggle for domination over us, over the socialist countries and over the neutralist countries. Hence, you stand on the positions of continuing the "cold war" and aggravating relations. Ponder this, gentlemen! If you do not ponder this today, if you understand this wrongly, I hope you will understand this tomorrow, because there is no other way out.

That is how the question stands: either we shall develop our relations along the road of eliminating international tension and the cold war, strive for peace and friendship, or we shall continue the line of aggravation which might end God knows where, because every aggravation of tension and the cold war might turn into a hot war.

He who wants peace and friendship among the peoples must consider the interests not only of his country and his group of countries, he must also consider the interests of the socialist countries, the neutralist countries.

We do not want to impose our socialist system upon you. Go on living as your conscience dictates, but do not interfere with our living according to the dictates of our conscience. Let us not inter-

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fere with the neutralist countries either, so that they may live as their conscience dictates.

We do not ask anything for ourselves at the expense of other states. We only want equal conditions for all, we want to continue working for the common cause of ensuring world peace.

STANLEY BURKE *(Canadian radio)*: You said that the main objective of the Western countries in the Congo was to retain control over raw materials available there, in particular over uranium. How can you prove this statement, considering that uranium, which is Katanga's main product, is extremely abundant in the world and large uranium mines are being closed in Canada, for instance?

KHRUSHCHEV: Sir, you want to impose upon me your idea that the colonialists seize colonies and destroy people in order to help them to end their earthly existence as soon as possible and to expedite them on their way to paradise.

To me it is entirely a secondary matter, what the colonialists are after—uranium, cobalt or the devil himself. What they want is to plunder the colonial peoples, to profit at their expense, to exterminate the peoples of enslaved countries. When the Belgian colonialists came to the Congo, it had a population of more than 20 million. And now, when the colonialists have left after a stay of many years, the population, far from increasing, has diminished almost by half. Why? Do Negroes bear fewer children? No. They bear perhaps even more children than Europeans. But they are placed in unbelievable, inhuman conditions, and that is why their children do not survive, and die; and those who do not die in childhood, do not live long—their life expectancy is not as long as that of people living under normal human conditions.

Or let us take the Australians. Mr. Menzies spoke at the United Nations General Assembly. He could have told the story of the conquest of Australia, he could have told how colonialists hunted down and killed human beings like wild animals. They exterminated nearly the entire indigenous population. And this is what they call "civilization"! The peoples will remember such civilization, and hatred for the enslavers will live through the ages.

We are against the policy of the colonialists. With all our energy we protest against this policy and we shall do everything

in our power to see the early end of this cursed, obsolete, slavish system of colonialism, to see that all peoples gain freedom and independence.

RICHARD HOTTELET *(Columbia Broadcasting System)*: What have you achieved in New York, in your opinion, both in the United Nations and outside it?

KHRUSHCHEV: The woodcutter measures the quality and quantity of his work by a definite yardstick. In the past the Russians had the *sagene;** now it no longer exists. In the past I worked as a fitter and I had definite standards by which to measure my labor. My father was a miner, he also had his yardstick. Then I became a political leader. I am not a woodcutter, or rather, I am both a woodcutter and a politician. I think it is impossible to measure the quantity and quality of my work, as the result of a brief attendance at the United Nations, by a definite yardstick. I say only one thing—he who believes that our efforts were made in vain does not understand everything that is going on.

We have sown here good seeds, the seeds of peace and friendship; we have exposed falsehood and sown the seeds of truth. And no matter how loudly some people are now crying to silence the voice of truth, their voices are not strong enough for this. Truth cannot be killed! Truth will triumph. When will it triumph? —well, one must have patience.

We are not discontinuing the struggle for truth. We have started this struggle and shall continue it. Victory will be ours. Please remember, truth will triumph because a lie is short-lived; people will see through the lie, no matter how skillful the make-up is, no matter how skillfully it is presented by cameramen, photographers, newsmen, artists—the features of a lie will show through the make-up and evoke repulsion, while the truth will attract the hearts of the peoples. Truth is with us. Truth will triumph.

SIMON MOLELE *(Tunisian radio)*: You here in New York and other Soviet leaders in Moscow had official talks with the leaders of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic. This has been interpreted as *de facto* recognition of the Algerian Government by the Soviet Government.

*Discarded unit of measure equal to 2.134 meters.

Would you not like to comment on this and tell us, in particular, what aid you intend to render the Algerian people in their struggle for independence?

KHRUSHCHEV: You have understood correctly that from our meetings and talks it follows that we recognize *de facto* the provisional Algerian Government. I consider that not only we but many countries of the world recognize it, and in the first place it was recognized by President de Gaulle of France who entered into negotiations with representatives of this provisional Algerian Government.

I have already replied to similar questions and said that we Soviet people sympathize with all colonial peoples fighting against colonialists, for independence. How then can we exclude such a great people as the Arab people who are fighting for their independence, for their freedom? We welcome their struggle and we rendered, and shall render, them every assistance we can, any assistance that will be useful to the Algerian people in their struggle for independence, for freedom.

FERRARA (*Unita*): What do you think about the vote on the resolution of the five neutralist nations?

KHRUSHCHEV: We have stated our attitude toward this resolution in my letter to its authors, which has been published. I think that it is hardly necessary to return to this question now.

ARTHUR FLETCHER (*World Wide Press Service Agency*): In view of the fact that the Soviet Union calls in every way for the advance of the underdeveloped countries, will it increase its contributions to the United Nations assistance program as the United States has promised to do?

KHRUSHCHEV: We have repeatedly stated our views on this question. We take part in rendering assistance to underdeveloped countries through the United Nations, but we prefer, so long as no agreement on disarmament is reached, to remain at about the previous level of rendering assistance through the United Nations. When agreement on disarmament is reached, there will be every possibility, as a result of the disarmament, to save funds, and hence we could increase assistance to underdeveloped countries by agreement with other countries. But we prefer to render assistance chiefly on a bilateral basis, i.e., to reach agreement with

underdeveloped countries, and on the basis of this agreement to render them disinterested assistance.

Now, as regards President Eisenhower's statement on assistance, I should think that if the imperialist countries returned even a tenth of what they plundered in the underdeveloped countries—and they took everything from them—if they returned even a tenth of the share, even this would be little. But I do not entertain the hope that assistance on the part of the imperialist countries will be increased, for it is one thing to talk and another to act. Capitalism can only plunder. It cannot render effective assistance because this contradicts the essence of capitalism.

Therefore, Messrs. Journalists, know how to read but also know how to understand what you have read. I tell you this because my experience in life prompts me to do it. Take Britain as an example.

What a wealthy country it is. Yet how poor is India! How wealthy is France, yet how poor are the African countries plundered by France. How wealthy is Britain, yet how poor is Ceylon.

Is poverty the national feature of those countries? No. It is a social feature, a political feature. The robbers came, plundered the peoples of the enslaved countries, and then told them, "You should be grateful for our plundering because we brought you civilization." Well, you know, as our saying has it—"God defend me from my friends, I can defend myself from my enemies." The same applies here: God defend us from such civilization, and we undoubtedly can cope with this civilization ourselves and conquer it!

Besides, India was at a higher level when Britain began enslaving India. Britain relied not on civilization but on the force of the robber, the force of the stronger. And this is called justice! And now they want to assume a noble air. This, you know . . . though perhaps I have said enough as it is.

S. GUNZBURG (*France Press Agency*): The organ of the Chinese Communist Party, the newspaper *Jen Min Jih Pao* again supported the opinion that war is inevitable as long as the capitalist society exists and that the atom bomb is a "paper tiger." Would you like to comment on this statement?

KHRUSHCHEV: I haven't read that paper. You have read it and I must comment on it! Can you imagine my position? Since you

have read it, it is for you to comment. I will comment when I read it.

DON HWA: (*South Korean News Agency*): Mr. Chairman, won't you tell us something about your planned visit to North Korea? What is the objective of your visit there now?

KHRUSHCHEV: I do not understand, gentlemen, why there is such a merry reaction to this question. Apparently because this is a gentleman from South Korea. I do not see any reason for such merriment and I have the greatest respect for this gentleman's question.

You see, South Korea had Syngman Rhee. We have denounced him and the regime which had been there under him, although the present regime in South Korea does not differ from the old one. Today there is one regime and tomorrow there will be another, but the Korean people remain; and we believe in the good inherent in every people, including the Koreans. It is a freedom-loving people which fought heroically against the Japanese occupation. But the people in the south of the country found themselves in a worse position than in the north. The North Koreans found themselves, both geographically and politically, in a better position than the South Koreans, but we believe that the South Koreans will catch up with the North Koreans.

You are asking when I shall go to the Korean Democratic People's Republic? Right now we are making final arrangements with Comrade Kim Ir Sen concerning the date on which we shall be able to go to Korea, since I stayed in America longer than I expected. This will be announced later on.

But I should like to convey through you, Mr. South Korean Journalist, the best wishes to the people of South Korea, if you dare to transmit my kind wishes. We should like to see the Korean peoples themselves determine the social and political system of South Korea. We wish the people of South Korea independence and complete freedom, we wish the entire Korean people to be the masters of their destiny and of their wealth.

JAMES BOYD (*Sunday Star*) AND OTHER CORRESPONDENTS: Has the Soviet Union any proposals for stimulating the activity of the United Nations Outer Space Committee?

KHRUSHCHEV: We set forth our proposals some time ago and we are willing, if our wishes are taken into account, to participate in the committee. We regard the United States proposals as lopsided for they do not take into account the interests of the socialist countries. The United States wants to be in command in the committee. If you want to be in command not in the committee but in outer space, please do—there is enough place there for all. You be in command in it and we shall be in command in it.

THOMAS HAMILTON (*New York Times*): In your talks with Mr. Macmillan you suggested, it seems, a summit meeting and a special session of the United Nations General Assembly early next year, after the inauguration of President Eisenhower's successor. Could you not tell us in greater detail when, in your opinion, this meeting should be held and what it should consider?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, this was a correct report. When I conferred with Mr. Macmillan, and I conferred with him twice in New York, we touched upon these questions.

Mr. Macmillan assured me that a summit meeting would take place. I stood on the same positions which we have set forth already in due time: we are in favor of a summit meeting in order to settle the issue of concluding a peace treaty with Germany and to solve the problem of West Berlin as a free city which ensues from this. But I also raised other questions.

In my talks with Mr. Macmillan I said that perhaps we should consider the question of a peace treaty with Germany at a peace conference of all countries who fought against Nazi Germany, and conclude a peace treaty there. He who wants to sign it would sign.

I suggested this with a view to accelerating the signing of a peace treaty with Germany because the solution of this question has been delayed too long. Mr. Macmillan assured me that a meeting of the heads of government of the Great Powers would take place and that at this meeting we should be able to discuss this question. If this is so, we shall stand by the word we gave after the Summit Meeting in Paris was torpedoed by the United States of America last May.

The same correspondent raises another question, about a special session of the United Nations General Assembly. Indeed

I have raised such a question in my conversation with Mr. Macmillan. Mr. Macmillan did not deny that such a session would be useful. I have already told you about this.

Now, as before, we consider that disarmament is the question of questions. The present session, apparently, lacks special conditions for achieving useful results on this question. First, we must take into account the fact that the discussion of this question in the United Nations coincided with the peak of the presidential election campaign in the United States. Under these conditions America, apparently, cannot now take an active part in the discussion of this most important question. This is one reason.

Secondly, some explain this by the fact that there are many questions which must be discussed at the plenary session of the Assembly.

We have always considered disarmament the prime task, a question which prevails over all other questions. That is why, in view of the above considerations, it will apparently be useful to call a special session of the General Assembly and to discuss at that session only one question—that of reaching agreement on disarmament and establishing international control over disarmament.

I have spoken on this question not only with Mr. Macmillan but with statesmen of other countries as well. When will that be expedient? I should think that we could gather in February or March. Some have mentioned April because that suited them better. It would be a good thing to convene such an Assembly in Europe. Eighty per cent of the countries territorially tend to Europe because of their geographic location. That is why we would prefer the special session to meet in Geneva. But should the participants in the session want to meet in the Soviet Union and extend such an honor to us, we shall be happy to receive the Assembly in Moscow or Leningrad. The most normal conditions for its work would be created there.

I believe that people who really want agreement on disarmament and peace ensured—and this must be the goal of all—must sympathize with us and help us to achieve such a solution.

HENRY SHAPIRO (*United Press International*): Will the *status quo* be preserved in Berlin until the next summit meeting?

KHRUSHCHEV: The question has been put in too abstract a manner. First, will there be a summit meeting? From the way Mr. Shapiro put the question it follows that I must give an assurance that the *status quo* will be preserved. But no one can tell in what year and on what date the meeting will take place. That would mean to remain perpetually without a peace treaty with Germany. If this question is understood as we understand it, namely, that the summit meeting will take place after the presidential elections, we shall strictly abide by our word. But if we see that there is no desire to have a summit meeting, the countries whose position is that a peace treaty is essential will finally meet and sign a peace treaty. And that will be the end of occupation status for West Berlin.

CHAIRMAN: I should like to wind up with a question which is outside the sphere of politics. This question has been asked by Mr. Murray of the *Irish Times*: Can you definitely say that you will orbit a man around the earth this year?

KHRUSHCHEV: Do you want to be registered as the first volunteer?

CORRESPONDENT: Together with you.

KHRUSHCHEV: My age and my weight do not meet the standards.

CORRESPONDENT: This also applies to me.

KHRUSHCHEV: I do not know and that is why I speak in this way. I did not want to offend you. And there is nothing offensive in it. I can only tell you that we have many people who want to fly into outer space and they are making intensive preparations. Everyone wants to have the honor to be the first to fly.

We regard such a flight as very important, as having great scientific importance. That is why sporting methods are no good here. And to fix a day and send a man into outer space precisely on that day means to have a sporting approach to this highly important question. We do not set ourselves such a task. We shall send a man into outer space when the appropriate conditions have been created for this flight, for the life of the space traveler must be protected. I cannot say when this will materialize since this is, first of all, a matter for scientists. It does not take much

wisdom to send a man into outer space; the main thing is to return him.

I heard the esteemed chairman say that this question was the last. Therefore permit me to say a few words in conclusion.

Above all, I should like to thank our esteemed chairman, the President of the United Nations Association of Journalists, and to thank you all for having entertained my friends and myself at such a good lunch. It is your right to make an appraisal, but, in any case, I tried to return your hospitality by conscientious work. I should like also to thank you, gentlemen, friends, comrades, for your attention and to wish you the best of success in your work.

Let us pool our efforts in the struggle for peace. I am a Communist. I shall reveal no secret if I say that there are Communists here beside me; I see them. They are present here. But the majority here are not Communists. However, we must agree that we are all human beings, and man living on earth wants to live. I repeat, let us pool our efforts toward one goal—the struggle for peace. Questions pertaining to the social and political order of society are the domestic affair of each people, but the cause of world peace is the common cause of the peoples.

So let us concentrate our attention and efforts on achieving the common goal of ensuring peace on earth. And in order to ensure peace on earth, to prevent any accidents, an agreement on disarmament must be reached by all nations. If we achieve this, gentlemen, I am confident that we shall glorify our names through the ages and our children and grandchildren will say: "Our fathers and forefathers were not so stupid after all. For all their quarrels, for all their arguments and bickerings, they understood the main thing, they prevented war and ensured peace."

That should be enough for every man with a conscience—his conscience would be clear.

October 9, 1960

Television Interview with David Susskind

David Susskind, producer and television commentator, invited Premier Khrushchev to be his guest for an interview on "Open End," his regular Sunday evening program on WNTA-TV. The Premier accepted, and the program took place at 9 P.M. on Sunday, October 9. Originating in New York, the program was simultaneously relayed to six major cities in the United States. It has been rebroadcast on many other television channels and radio stations in the United States, as well as in Australia, Canada and the United Kingdom. It was also re-televised in full in the Soviet Union.

N.B. The transcription of the interview which follows gives Premier Khrushchev's answers in direct translation from the Russian, not necessarily as Mr. Viktor Sukhadrev, his interpreter, translated them for the television audience.

The dialogue that follows took place before the program "went on camera."

SUSSKIND: When you go to sleep, do you feel that the destinies of mankind depend largely on you, on your attitude on your moods? Tell us, do you sleep calmly being aware of this?

KHRUSHCHEV: I always sleep calmly.

SUSSKIND: And what about the sense of tremendous responsibility to a still unborn generation?

KHRUSHCHEV: You see, we do our utmost to avert war. Our country is engaged in peaceful construction. Just take a look at what we are doing.

SUSSKIND: I should like to very much, and I'd like especially to take a look at the organization of communications in your country.

Everyone is watching you today and many people believe that you will not reply to my questions; but I don't believe it.

KHRUSHCHEV: It depends on what questions you ask. I shall reply to any reasonable question.

SUSSKIND: Yes, this means yes, good, to Americans. And when they want to say—excellent, they say—O.K!

KHRUSHCHEV: I think that both the questions and the replies will be keyed toward an improvement in the relations between our countries, that is, between the Soviet Union and America, among all the countries of the world.

If there are any questions which violate that principle I shall not reply. I may not reply directly to all questions but I shall not evade replies. Thus, I shall certainly give detailed replies to your questions.

SUSSKIND: Mr. Khrushchev, I should like to assure you before the beginning of the broadcast that the questions I shall ask are in the minds of many people.

KHRUSHCHEV: I beg you to ask the kind of questions which will help to improve our relations.

SUSSKIND: I repeat, we have a good word "yes"; that's the English for "da."

KHRUSHCHEV: I also would like to hear "da" from you.

SUSSKIND: It is quite incomprehensible to me how a man who has such a sense of humor can inspire the fear of war. We've been taught that a sense of humor is the most positive quality.

KHRUSHCHEV: That is right. If I inspire fear in you, this means that you think badly of me and of my country.

SUSSKIND: You don't inspire fear here, but you do when you deliver speeches, for instance, at the United Nations. If we could remain here, the world would be in complete safety.

KHRUSHCHEV: You are mistaken.

At this point the official broadcast began.

SUSSKIND: Good evening. This is Open End. My name is David Susskind. Our guest tonight is Premier Nikita Khrushchev of the Soviet Union. The gentleman alongside of Premier Khrushchev is his official translator, Mr. Victor Sukhadrev.

A brief introductory note about tonight's program. When I first heard or read that Premier Khrushchev was coming to the United States to attend the Geneal Assembly of the United Nations, I wrote the officials in New York of the Soviet Mission. I requested his appearance on this program to answer questions that are deep in all our minds, about the present situation in the world. I also requested the opportunity of having crack newspaper experts, familiar with the Soviet-American issues to accompany

me on the program to ask questions. The reply was that Mr. Khrushchev, and this after several meetings with his official delegation, that Mr. Khrushchev would answer questions from one interrogator. I was asked to submit questions in advance. I refused to do this, and Mr. Khrushchev's officials agreed that the questions would be unrehearsed and spontaneous.

Tonight's questions and answers are not rehearsed, have not been submitted in advance. In just a moment, we will begin this program, whose main concern is the pursuit of information. In a free republic it is our job, I think, never to trammel inquiry, but to try to know more, to find out facts, to get answers. That is the effort of this program, that is its intent. In just sixty seconds, we will begin the interview with Premier Khrushchev.

SUSSKIND: Mr. Khrushchev, in Mr. Macmillan's address to the United Nations General Assembly, he said, among other things, quote, "The sponge of public opinion is almost saturated with the persistent flood of propaganda. It can pick up no more. Ordinary people all over the world, in their present mood, are beginning to tire of the same conventional slogans and catchwords." The people of our country and the people of the world, I think, are very concerned about a host of issues. I hope tonight's questions and answers will supply them with answers they desperately seek.

The first, Mr. Khrushchev: From personal observation and from the reports of your officials in this country, you must know that our people are dedicated to peace with honor. You must know too, that ours is a representative government, elected by our people and fully responsive to them. Why then do you continue to perpetuate the myth that the American people are well-intentioned, but that their government is imperialistic, warmongering and deceitful? That fact is, and I think you know it, that the American people, and the American government, whether Republican or Democrat, are one and the same with no interest or desire to violate any other sovereignty, or extend its territories or to colonize any nation in any part of the world in any manner whatsoever.

KHRUSHCHEV: The question you have just posed is not a simple one and might provide a pretext for misinterpretation, with regard to the reply, but I will certainly do my best to answer without evading the essence of the question.

With regard to the social systems existing in our countries, with regard to the state structures and our governments, I would not like to add anything to what you have said, or to comment in any way. With regard to your words to the effect that your government is responsible to the various institutions, state institutions, existing in this country, I would merely like to say in this context that you are evidently not very well-acquainted with our system. Because the fact is that our country has the most democratic system; all the various functionaries are elected, and all are responsible to the people, directly to the people. And the people who are elected to the various legislative and executive bodies of the Soviet Union are all men of labor, they are workers, peasants or intellectuals. I myself am a living example of this. I was a worker in my youth, my father was a worker and my grandfather was a peasant. From an early age, I started to work and it was as a result of my diligence, of my desire to serve my people, that the people responded by electing me to this high office. But I would not like to enter into any argument with regard to whose government is more representative or more democratic, because if we were to enter into such a dispute, I would start praising my state, and my government, my constitution, and you would start praising yours, and that would only lead to an aggravation, and would not serve any useful purpose. We like and will live under our system, and you will live under yours. You like your system—that's your business; we like ours, so don't hinder us from living our way.*

SUSSKIND: I am sorry that I don't understand what you're saying.

KHRUSHCHEV: The interpreter will translate for you.

SUSSKIND: With apologies to Mr. Khrushchev, he has not answered my question. I am not comparing our governments. I asked him why throughout the world, he continues to draw a real cleavage between our people and our government, saying that our people are peace-loving, but our government is warmongering. Our government is exactly coincident with the temper of our people. They are one and the same, and they are both peace-loving so long as peace is accompanied by honor.

*The last two sentences were not translated for Mr. Susskind because he interrupted with his next comment.

KHRUSHCHEV: You were in a little too much of a hurry, because I only just replied to the first part of that question you posed me. And, after the translation of that first part is finished, I will go on to reply to the second part. I will certainly do so.

Don't be in a hurry. Though you are a fiery man and I am no longer young, I can still compete with you in replying. Wait a minute, or do you want to outstrip me thanks to your age! First, you are trying to involve me in a discussion regarding your government. I do not think I should enter into such a discussion because it is your government after all, and it is for your people to judge that government. If I were to try to do so, that could be construed as an attempt at interfering with the internal affairs of the American people, and I would not like to be misunderstood on that point. But now I would like to give a reply.

We say that the government of the Soviet Union, which I head in my capacity of Chairman of the Council of Ministers, is the most peace-loving government in the world. You say, and I believe you, that the people of the United States are peace-loving people, and that the government of the United States is likewise a peace-loving government: then, I would just like to raise one question. Recall that last year I was in this country as a guest of your government. It gave me pleasure to accept President Eisenhower's invitation to come here, and I came with good intentions, to establish personal contact with the President, or rather to renew these contacts, because we had met before. The purpose of my journey was to promote better relations between our peoples and our governments. I also wanted to establish good personal relations with the President. And we did have some very good talks. The President is aware of this. I recall that we sat and talked and had coffee. He addressed me with the words, "my friend," in English. And he said, learn the words, Mr. Khrushchev, they mean, and he had them translated for me, and I said very good. And allow me also to call you "moi drug," which is "my friend" in Russian. And everything went very well, indeed. I was seen off with honors. When I came back I reported to my people that conditions were becoming propitious for us to have good relations with the United States of America. This is the dream of our people, of the Soviet Government. Because, after all, if such good relations exist between the United States and the Soviet

Union, this means that there will be peace between our two countries and in the whole world.

But what happened later? What did your government do? Virtually on the eve of the Paris Summit meeting, the United States Government sent a U-2 spy plane into the Soviet Union. And then after that they sent a second plane, an RB-47 reconnaissance plane. We shot down this second plane, too. We said it was not good to do such things; we asked, is this the way to show friendship? Just imagine what would have been your reaction if we had sent our plane into the United States, let us say, over New York or Washington, for example. What would have happened then? You would have judged that Khrushchev came to your country, partook of American bread and salt, said some fine words, and then in return sent a spy plane over your territory. Would you have regarded this as a friendly or unfriendly act? Well, we too reacted with the opinion that the American Government was insincere, because the sending of an aggressor plane does not help improve our relations, does not promote the cause of peace, but on the contrary kindles passions and aggravates relations. The continuation of such flights might lead to war.

And so, judge for yourselves. Who is it that stands for peace, for friendly relations, and who is it that does not want friendly relations, but aggravates the situation by his actions and brings the world to the brink of war?

I am now replying not only to you, but to all the people who are listening tonight. We are now facing the tribunal of public opinion. We are honest. We gave our word that we would be friendly, and we are true to our word—we do nothing to harm America. But you have sent your spy planes to us.

SUSSKIND: Mr. Khrushchev, the U-2 incident was part of both our countries indulging in various intelligence operations to protect their securities. The best answer to the U-2 incident is that the President has suspended all such flights. Let us not beat a dead horse tonight. Is it not possible that relations between our two countries could immediately improve, if you as a statesman and head of your country, do, or would do two things. Bury the U-2 incident, and stop inflaming it, and number two, submit the RB-47 incident to the international arbitration and decision requested by the United States.

KHRUSHCHEV: You see, any relations, no matter how sharp they may become, lose their sharp edge in time. No matter how stormy the ocean may become, sooner or later that storminess subsides. After a storm there is always a calm. And so it will evidently be with the U-2 incident. But I do think you have an incorrect understanding on this matter, and I should like to deal with that.

(At this point in Mr. Sukhadrev's interpretation, Mr. Susskind asked for an interruption for a station break. Premier Khrushchev had actually gone ahead, however, and the remainder of his remarks are given herewith.)

It would be a good thing if the President had cancelled those flights. But is that really so? In reality, they have not yet been cancelled. I will deal with that a little later. The best thing would be not to have sent any U-2 and RB-47 flights at all. You say that the U-2 incident is a dead horse. But no, it is not a dead horse. If your spy planes continue to fly over our country, we shall shoot them down, and that might mean the outbreak of war. If you allow yourselves to infringe on our sovereignty and invade the boundaries of our country we shall be forced to take retaliatory measures. And you must agree that this smacks of an armed conflict. Furthermore, after the President had said that he had cancelled the flights, there was the RB-47 flight. This looks more like a repetition of flights rather than a cancellation of them.

I will tell you more. Your military or intelligence agencies planned to send over one more spy plane before my departure for the General Assembly session. We learned about this and I said to your Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Thompson:

You are preparing to send another spy plane over here. We are aware of that. You want to send it at an altitude of 25,000 meters. We are ready, and if you do send it, we warn you that the results of this affair will be not too good. The plane did not come. I believe the United States Government cancelled this flight.

I agree with you on one point—let us not kindle passions over this question. Now you are asking us to agree to international arbitration on the RB-47 plane. But we shall not agree to this. What you want is for our internal, domestic state affairs to be settled by international arbitration of some kind. The best and only arbitration in this matter is not to send spy planes over each other's territory. Why do that? Let us be friends, let us do no

harm to each other, let us not violate the sovereignty of other countries.

(Station Break)

KHRUSHCHEV: Do you have a couple of mattresses somewhere?

SUSSKIND: Sure, I'll get you a mattress. So that the public will understand, because we've been off the air the last few minutes, I said that we should both practice brevity, I in my questions, and Premier Khrushchev in his answers, or we will have to stay the night. He then asked if we could be brought several mattresses. May we have the answer to that—

KHRUSHCHEV: But, I already said, that if you will provide the mattresses, I'm ready to be here all night.

SUSSKIND: All right, we'll send for the mattresses. Will you please give us the answer to the question? The question was, it seems like a year ago, that the U-2 incident was beating a dead horse. The best answer to that is that our President, and our government has suspended those flights. Could not Mr. Khrushchev make an affirmative and definite and important move toward better relations between our two countries, by first, burying the U-2 incident forever, and not be resuscitating it always, and secondly, by submitting the RB-47 incident to international arbitration as requested by the American Government.

(Mr. Sukhadrev here continued with his interpretation of the Premier's remarks as given in the previous speech.)

SUSSKIND: It is not a domestic issue. You claimed that your territory was violated by one of our planes. We denied such allegations. It is a matter between two sovereign countries in dispute. The United Nations is clearly a forum for arbitration of that dispute. Isn't your refusal to submit the dispute, which is not a domestic dispute, but an international dispute, isn't that symptomatic of your hard, cold war policy?

KHRUSHCHEV: Well, kind sir, where do we stand? You sent a U-2 plane and then denied that you had sent it. You said that you did not send the plane. It was only after we furnished material evidence, and showed you the pilot who was shot down near Sverdlovsk, only then did you admit the fact that you had sent a spy flight. And yet not only admitted it, but asserted that it was your right to do so and that you had the right to send planes in

the future too. And so an RB-47 made its appearance in our skies. Naturally, we shot it down. It would be better policy for you to observe a rule which is illustrated by a passage from a play by the Russian writer Griboyedov, his play, "The Wit Works Woe": "Couldn't you select a more remote path for your walks?" I should like to repeat this in regard to flights by American planes: couldn't you select a route more remote from our frontiers for your flights? This would be a more useful course to follow, and then no conflicts would spoil our relations. For we want to live with you in peace and friendship.

SUSSKIND: *(to interpreter as Khrushchev was speaking)* Is there progress in that answer?

KHRUSHCHEV: All our replies contain progress.

SUSSKIND: Not tonight.

KHRUSHCHEV: Just wait a minute. You suggested that the United Nations should arbitrate in the case of the RB-47 plane. We saw a fine example of United Nations arbitration in the Congo. But we are not the Congo! We are the Soviet Union. Therefore we ask you to respect our sovereignty, and if it is not respected, we shall be able to protect it properly ourselves!

SUSSKIND: I feel that an iron and implacable will lies behind your smile.

KHRUSHCHEV: Logic and truth lie behind it.

SUSSKIND: Then we are speaking different languages.

KHRUSHCHEV: I think that the word "logic" sounds similar in English and Russian.

SUSSKIND: I think we have seen an excellent illustration of the United Nations in action in the Congo.

KHRUSHCHEV: I would not like to return to the discussion of that question because the discussion was fully treated in my statements before the United Nations General Assembly. I therefore would not like to return to the matter and take up the time of our esteemed listeners. Whoever wants to know my point of view on that question can read my speech, which was published in one American newspaper.

SUSSKIND: May I ask you a question to which you can answer, yes or no? Will you, in the interest of immediate improvement in American-Soviet relations, submit the RB-47 issue to arbitration?

KHRUSHCHEV: No.

SUSSKIND: I taught you "yes."

KHRUSHCHEV: I'll gladly repeat that word, when you ask me the appropriate question. May I say, will you stop flying into the Soviet Union, and provoking conflicts? If that question were asked, I'd say very good, and you would, I trust, say, "yes."

SUSSKIND: We have stopped. But we can't agree on it tonight.

KHRUSHCHEV: Let me shake your hand. If you really have stopped such flights and the President stands by your statement, very good, I shall reply "yes."

SUSSKIND: In his speech before the United Nations Assembly President Eisenhower said we would like to see a universal plebiscite, in which every individual in the world would be given the opportunity, freely and secretly, to answer this question: "Do you want the right to self-government?" In his speech before the Assembly, your colleague, Mr. Gomulka, of Poland, approved of this proposal, saying he favored seeking the opinions of all peoples on problems closely linked with those of the right to govern their own country. Do you or will you agree to a worldwide plebiscite to be conducted as suggested by President Eisenhower, under United Nations auspices, in which all peoples would be polled on their views on self-government?

SUSSKIND: (*to the interpreter*) Could you translate as Mr. Khrushchev goes along, would that be in order?

(*Interpreter asks Khrushschev.*)

KHRUSHCHEV: I don't know how that can be done; it seems that American technology is not up to that yet. You come along to us, we'll do it immediately. We'll give you a simultaneous translation.

A very good question.

SUSSKIND: I hope he has a good answer.

KHRUSHCHEV: A very exact answer. Tell me please, how old are you?

SUSSKIND: Thirty-nine.

KHRUSHCHEV: You're a young man.

SUSSKIND: I'm aging.

KHRUSHCHEV: I've got children that are older. And therefore I say that you evidently don't have a very good knowledge of history. After our great October Revolution, military landing parties were sent into our country by the United States, Britain,

France, Germany and Japan, and they imposed a Civil War and intervention upon us. That was a nationwide plebiscite on the kind of system the peoples of our country wanted to have. We fought, that is we conducted the plebiscite, for four years. The White Guards, the generals of the Tsarist Army—

SUSSKIND: But I didn't ask—

KHRUSHCHEV: When that is required, we'll come to that. It's not required now.

They (the White Guards) captured Siberia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and they came up to Tula—they were within 150 kilometers of Moscow. But the Russian people, the Ukrainian people, the Byelorussian people—all the peoples of the Soviet Union, took a broom and swept all the interventionists into the ocean, the Americans, the British, the Japanese, the Germans, all the vermin. And they said: "Socialism will be built on our soil." And socialism is developing very well indeed in our country. So your President is late in raising this question before the peoples of our country. The same question was raised as far back as 1918 by President Wilson and we gave our reply. Then in 1941 the Germans and the Italians, the fascists, decided to verify that plebiscite, so they perfidiously attacked us, launched war against the Soviet Union. We smashed them, and cleared our Soviet land of the invaders. Now our people are successfully building communism.

If you understood deep in your heart what socialism and communism really were, why nobody could tear you away from them—

SUSSKIND: Oh, yes they could.

KHRUSHCHEV:—as if it were a favorite dish of yours. But you don't understand that socialism, communism is the most noble teaching in the world. And if anybody tries to impose upon us another such referendum, we will not try to evade or dodge such an attempt, we will just sweep away all who venture to try it. Our land is sacred and sovereign, and it's only the peoples of the Soviet Union themselves that have the right to govern their land, and administer their affairs. We recognize that you are certainly entitled to that same right, and do not interefere in our affairs and give us that right also. Why should you try to poke your nose

into our garden? Have you not enough things to do in your own country?

SUSSKIND: You're baying at the moon.* We know the history of the Russian Revolution, we do not want a plebiscite in the Soviet Union. We believe with all our might that there are many subjugated peoples in Eastern Europe. We ask that a plebiscite be held, not in your home country, not in the Soviet Union, but in many of the countries of Eastern Europe, who are now within the Soviet orbit. Let those people announce freely and openly their preference for self-government. It's not necessary to cite the October 1917 Revolution of the Communist Party in Russia, we're talking about 1960, and a free plebiscite, without troops of any country in the nations of Eastern Europe, and Africa, and Asia.

KHRUSHCHEV: Is such an expression as "barking (baying) at the moon" regarded as normal polite conversation in your country? We regard it as rude. After all, I'm old enough to be your father, and, young man, it is unworthy to speak to me like this. You look pleasant enough but you do not express yourself quite courteously. I do not permit an attitude like that towards myself. I did not come here to "bark"—I am the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the world's greatest socialist state. You will therefore please show respect for me. If you do not want to, then do not invite me for an interview. There must be courtesy, but you are accustomed to prod and knock everyone about. Ours is the kind of state which will not allow itself to be ordered about.

SUSSKIND: I'm sorry.

KHRUSHCHEV: So you don't mean that a plebiscite should be held in the Soviet Union?

SUSSKIND: No.

KHRUSHCHEV: You have European countries in view?

SUSSKIND: The European countries, Asia, Africa, Latin American countries.

KHRUSHCHEV: So, I can reply to that, that all these countries have sovereign governments, and it is up to the people of those countries and their governments to decide on that question. This has nothing to do with me whatsoever. You evidently simply came to the wrong address. Regarding your statement that these nations

*The Russian equivalent for "baying" is "barking." "Barking," therefore, is the word as Khrushchev had it interpreted for him.

of Europe are captive, that I would not even wish to reply to, because that truly, such an opinion is merely rubbish* which really should be thrown out of your head. You need a new approach, and you should really understand history in the way that it is being written today by the peoples, otherwise you will have a very backward view on present-day issues.

SUSSKIND: Does the phrase "garbage thrown out of your head," is that good form?

KHRUSHCHEV: Well, there can be a correct understanding, and a wrong understanding, such is the fact, and I don't think there is anything offensive in that, but if you think that there is something offensive, and you want to take me up on that, well, I certainly, though I don't think there is anything offensive in it, I can take back that "rubbish" (garbage)—

SUSSKIND: Oh, I think it would be charming.

We must pause for just a moment for another opportunity for the radio and television stations throughout the country to identify themselves.

(During the recess, Susskind apologized for the expression "baying at the moon," saying it was not regarded here as offensive. Khrushchev replied that nevertheless the expression was impermissible. Susskind again asked if "throw garbage (rubbish) out of your head" was quite polite.)

SUSSKIND: On October 7th, a few days ago, you said, "We shall uphold our interests outside this international body, in regard to the United Nations, by relying on our strength. This could lead to nothing else but a new exacerbation of the situation." My question is, your proposal to act outside the United Nations, and your intentions to force a solution of the West Berlin issues, involve the great danger of a nuclear war.

Do you truly believe that West Berlin, the German peace treaty, and your proposal to reorganize the United Nations, are worth the potential of a nuclear war, in which both sides face extermination?

KHRUSHCHEV: Your question is so involved that it could give a person a nightmare. But I shall try to reply. In the first place,

*The Russian word, "musor," used here by Khrushchev, is best translated as "rubbish." However, the interpreter translated it for Mr. Susskind as "garbage."

I certainly remember what I said at that press conference, and what I said was that if the United Nations is constituted in the same one-sided way that is now the case, trailing in the wake of the United States, then the United Nations will lose the respect and confidence of all countries that are seeking solutions to outstanding issues. In that case, they will not turn for assistance to the United Nations, but will rely on themselves to find solutions to these questions. We of the Soviet Union are of the opinion that if steps are made to humiliate us and subjugate us in the United Nations, we can certainly do without the United Nations, as we have done for many centuries, and that means that if, and I stress "if," any state encroaches upon our sovereignty, we will uphold that sovereignty by and with all the strength that we have at our disposal. And if any state threatens us with a war, we will not be afraid, and we will uphold the independence of our country, our great achievements.

Do you remember the basis of our criticism of the United Nations' structure? After all we are not seeking any privileges for ourselves; we are merely seeking equal conditions in the UN for the socialist countries, the countries tied up in the United States-led military blocs and the neutralist countries. Is there anything unjust in this? No, it is a perfectly just proposal. If this is not done, it is not only we, but the other countries too who will stop respecting the United Nations, and after that the United Nations will simply die, it will cease to exist. *(At this point Susskind started to interrupt, but Khrushchev gestured that he had more to say.)* I have not yet replied on the point about West Berlin. I want to reply to that. I am an honest partner and I will reply without waiting for your supplementary questions on this point.

You say that we want to solve the problem of West Berlin outside the United Nations. The German question is precisely outside the United Nations sphere. As you know, this is a vestige of World War II. The question of a peace treaty with Germany and of West Berlin concerns the countries that fought against Nazi Germany and not the United Nations. This is recognized by the United States of America, France, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union. We have no differences here.

Let us now turn to West Berlin. What do we want to achieve on the German question? We want to conclude a peace treaty

with both Germanies. Soon 16 years will have elapsed after the end of the war, yet we have still no peace treaty. Do you regard this as normal? Every one who wants to normalize the situation after the war will draw the conclusion that a peace treaty must be concluded with Germany. And that is what we want.

The conclusion of a peace treaty with both German states, and evidently there is no other way out, will also settle the issue about the occupation regime in West Berlin. We regard it as logical that West Berlin should have its social system—the capitalist system prevails there. We do not want to intervene in the affairs of West Berlin. Let its population live under capitalism as it does now, let it have self-government; let West Berlin be linked with all countries with which it wants to have relations, but the occupation regime in West Berlin must be liquidated.

So what do we want? We want peace. We want to remove the remnants of World War II, so that they may not threaten to touch off a third world war. You say that this might cause a nuclear war. This I do not understand. So according to you, while we want to sign a peace treaty with Germany the United States wants to fight with us over this. Is that so? We consider that the United States government will be reasonable. Even if the United States threatens us with war we shall sign the treaty anyhow. We do not believe that the American people would decide to start a third world war because of the signing of a peace treaty with Germany. This is madness. This is absolutely impermissible.

We, on the other hand, do not threaten anyone. Far from that, we want to do away with the remnants of World War II, to quench all the embers which are still smoldering, to do everything possible to ensure lasting peace in all the world, to live in friendship with all peoples—American, French, German, with all peoples. You want to live under capitalism—this is your business; go ahead. And we want to live under communism—this is our business. You don't understand our position correctly. I believe that when you come to understand it correctly, you will welcome our position because it is the only right and reasonable one.

SUSSKIND: America and her Western Allies will never start a war, I am sure. My question related to the fact that the issue of West Berlin and German peace treaty has got to be settled by

negotiation and not by threat or use of force, or anything that would blow both parts of the world up.

KHRUSHCHEV: Now those are certainly words which I like very much, and that is very reasonable. We do not intend to advance any threats of any kind. Our only desire is that the United States, Britain and France and other nations, should understand the necessity for a peace treaty with the two Germanies, and that all these countries should get together to sign a peace treaty, and thereby do away with the vestiges of the Second World War. We not only want to prevent war, we also want to establish conditions for good, friendly relations among all countries. We want to live in friendship and brotherhood with the American people, and with the American Government too.

SUSSKIND: May I ask you this? Is not your charge, Mr. Khrushchev, that the United States controls the majority of the United Nations really an insult to the free and independent nations that compose its membership? As a matter of record, most of the free nations have voted differently from one another, and the United States, on many occasions. But on the other hand, there is no recorded moment when the Soviet bloc of eight nations has ever voted differently from the Soviet Union.

KHRUSHCHEV: Evidently, you are not quite accurately informed. Representatives of many countries that vote for the proposals of the United States later come to us and clarify their position and say that "we are wholeheartedly with you but due to our position, we cannot vote contrary to the United States; we are compelled for the time being to vote for the United States proposals."

SUSSKIND: But they are free and independent nations who constitute the membership of the United Nations and are not under some magic, or fear influence of the United States, they are voting their separate consciences, are they not?

KHRUSHCHEV: I have respect for your words, but when you analyze the proceedings of the United Nations, you will change your views. Unfortunately, pressure is brought to bear in the United Nations on the delegates of countries that are politically and economically dependent on the United States. But this will soon be ended. The time will come when the peoples will rid

themselves of United States pressure and then the United States will be in a minority at the United Nations.

SUSSKIND: We must pause briefly while the radio and television stations identify themselves. We will return in one minute and ten seconds.

(Station Break)

(During the exchange above, Khrushchev was handed a note which apparently informed him that the intermissions were being used for advertisements of Radio Free Europe. During the recess, he said to Mr. Susskind—who apparently had not known of the advertisements—

"I have been told that anti-Soviet slander has been screened here during the recess. Why do you do this? You are afraid of communism, afraid of the truth! Well all right, let them screen it. We are not afraid. This will only make us stronger.")

SUSSKIND: Mr. Khrushchev, you said in reply to another question of a United Nations correspondent, the question was, "what do you feel that you have accomplished here, inside and outside the United Nations, since you've been here?" You said, "we have sown good seeds of peace and friendship. We have exposed lies, and sown seeds of truth, and no amount of effort will succeed in killing this truth." Isn't it really a fact that the net of what you have done since you have been here, is that you have attempted to cripple and impede the United Nations by urging the removal of Mr. Hammarskjold, and the substitution of a three-man secretariat, which would hamstring the United Nations. You have attempted to remove its headquarters out of New York. You have attempted to capture an important block of neutral votes and isolate the United States, and her allies; you have labelled the Western powers as colonialists in an impassioned speech. You have attempted to resell your total disarmament plan without any concern for our very deep and legitimate fear about inspections and controls.

KHRUSHCHEV: You yourself have said that we should be brief, but you have outlined a whole program there. What am I to do, reply until about six o'clock in the morning?

SUSSKIND: No, all I ask is do these activities—

KHRUSHCHEV: I see that you want to put me in a position where you ask questions but give me no opportunity to reply.

You want to announce all your questions and then say, "The interview is over." That is how it was handled with Comrade Mikoyan. But it's no good. Our interview is drawing to a close. Ask me a specific question and I shall reply.

SUSSKIND: Do your activities at the United Nations since you have arrived, do they add up to sowing the seeds of peace and friendship and the seeds of truth?

KHRUSHCHEV: That is the only reason I came. I have no other aim in life than to serve the truth, to serve my people—the workers, peasants and working intelligentsia. I should like to express my appreciation to you for the opportunity you have given me to speak to the population of New York and of other cities of the United States. In replying to your questions, I have sought to contribute to a correct understanding of our policy and our aspirations on the part of your people. Our main aspiration, the aspiration of the Soviet people and the Soviet Government, is to live in peace and friendship with all peoples. And we should like very much to see this desire reciprocated by the American people and the American Government. I think that sooner or later we shall be friends, because friendship would enable us to develop our economy and our culture, whereas war would only bring us disaster. That is why we are for peace and friendship. I want to thank all who have been listening to me and to ask them to do everything in their power to improve relations between our countries.

We in the Soviet Union have everything we need. Ours is a rich country and a prospering economy. We are striving to raise the living standards of our people to a high level, and our prospects are exceptionally good. We need nothing from other peoples except friendship. We have everything necessary to satisfy the requirements of the people. That is why we extend a hand of friendship and peace to the American people, and we should like the Americans to reciprocate.

I thank you once more, dear friends! May everlasting peace reign on our earth, and may there be no more wars. Long live friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States.

SUSSKIND: May I ask you one more question. When do you intend to return to the Soviet Union?

KHRUSHCHEV: I am taking a plane for the Soviet Union on Thursday at the end of the day.

I say to all those who want to go to the USSR and see how the Soviet people live: welcome. Our people are very hospitable, you will see and feel that for yourselves. *(To Mr. Susskind)* I invite you to come.

SUSSKIND: We are separated by more than language. I am convinced tonight that words do not mean the same things in our respective languages, nor is the logic or the thinking easy to fuse. Your answers to so many of the questions, Mr. Khrushschev, I submit, respectfully, did not deal specifically with the issues. I had hoped tonight that we could uncover a lot more new information that would give us hope for peace tomorrow.

KHRUSHCHEV: In replying, I did everything I could to dispel the misconceptions that you have in regard to the policies of the Soviet Government. And I am sure that we will achieve understanding, despite the difference in the languages if we agree on one thing—not to interfere with one another's internal affairs. Each people decides on the political and social structure to be established in every country, and let that be an internal matter for that country to decide. If that rule is strictly adhered to, we know that there will be no issues that will divide us, and prevent us from establishing friendship. You say you want peace and not war; we want peace. You say you want friendship; so do we.

SUSSKIND: Splendid words.

KHRUSHCHEV: We always live up to our words. As regards questions of war and peace, we are always for peace and shall never start a war.

SUSSKIND: Categorically, you will never start a war?

KHRUSHCHEV: Categorically, we shall never start a war. Remember my words; not only shall we not start a war, but we want to live in friendship with you. (Is what we are saying now being broadcast?)

SUSSKIND: (Yes.) I feel better about that. Will you now make deeds square with doctrine and preachment?

KHRUSHCHEV: We have always done so. Who has instilled in you such a wrong understanding of our policy?

SUSSKIND: The facts. History. Observation, and very close analysis.

KHRUSHCHEV: If you really study history and observe, the situation will not be hopeless. Gradually you will come to understand us well and we will understand you. They can only hear what you're saying. *(Khrushchev had removed his microphone.)* How tricky you Americans are. *(Laughing)*

SUSSKIND: No, no, who could not hear you? Your projection is incredible. I would like to ask you whether some of your mercurial temperament, the humor and the rage, while here in New York, is that the true Premier Khrushchev personality, or is that something of an acting job?

KHRUSHCHEV: We reply to kindness with kindness. Even an animal if you pat it will understand kindness on your part, but, if you try to drag it by the tail, then it shows its teeth. If you come to us in friendship, we will open up our hearts. If you send a U-2 spy plane, we shoot it down.

SUSSKIND: Every time we pat you, you bite us.

KHRUSHCHEV: It's you who are biting us. The sending of a U-2, that means biting.

SUSSKIND: We are not sending any U-2's, that's history. That's over. We seek peace and friendship with honor.

KHRUSHCHEV: All right, let's put an end to it. Even after a war, a peace is declared, and we have not been fighting you. We were allies in the last war. We want to be friends with you now, too. We don't ask anything from you, we only want friendship and peace.

SUSSKIND: We cannot fight. Negotiation must be the way, however painful, however protracted.

KHRUSHCHEV: We are in favor of negotiations, of peace and friendship. Come to visit us in the Soviet Union, have a look, spend some time there, size us up and you will see what a wonderful peace-loving people we have. Many Americans who have visited us have written about our country, and I have read some of their impressions. It must be said that very few of them distort the situation in our country; many of them write truthfully about us, and we are happy that they are doing so and are helping to establish friendly relations between our countries. What do I want with war? I have so many grandchildren—even a great-granddaughter.

SUSSKIND: But, all of your words, since you arrived in the United Nations General Assembly, all of your statements have been of an agitating nature, calculated to intensify the cold war and drive a deeper wedge between us. Don't call us colonial imperialistic warmongers—this is not first a fact, and secondly not calculated to make life possible between us.

KHRUSHCHEV: Are you against the colonial system? Let's shake hands on that then. We have submitted a declaration to the General Assembly to have the colonial system eliminated. If you are for this too, then we agree on this question.

SUSSKIND: We have. Since World War II, 1945, some thirty-seven nations have been freed, voluntarily by the Western powers.

KHRUSHCHEV: But there still exist colonies, don't there? There still are people languishing under colonialism, let us free them.

SUSSKIND: Would you grant immediate freedom to any colony, despite its degree of illiteracy, poverty, technical and administrative incompetence, in spite of its total unpreparedness, and lack of responsibility?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, we are in favor of the complete freedom of every nation. We have fifteen independent Union Republics in the Soviet Union and any one of these republics can secede from the Soviet Union if it so desires. If the Ukraine wants to secede, it can do so; so can Georgia, Armenia, any one of the Republics.

SUSSKIND: I want to ask you this question. When you talked to Macmillan, you insisted that a plenary special session of the United Nations Assembly be held somewhere in Europe, at which ninety-nine nations would discuss the issue of disarmament. When a three-nation conference on nuclear suspension and testing could not agree, when a ten-member nation conference could not agree on disarmament, how could a ninety-nine nation conference accomplish anything except another rampaging forum for propaganda?

KHRUSHCHEV: My dear sir, sometimes even two persons meet and cannot come to terms simply because one of them doesn't want to. The Soviet Union is ready to sign a treaty on disarmament and on the destruction of weapons. Let the United States propose control over the destruction of weapons and over disarmament, and a system of such control. We shall accept whatever is proposed, because we are in favor of genuine control; it is

to our mutual advantage. But your President speaks not about disarmament, but only about control over armaments. So it happens that we not only speak different languages, but we speak about different things.

SUSSKIND: The peoples of the world are fearful of the climate that exists throughout the world, they insist on the Western side, that there be adequate inspection and controls leading to disarmament. Why is that totally unacceptable?

KHRUSHCHEV: We are in favor of control and inspection. But what should be controlled? If there is no disarmament, there is nothing to control. What do you want, after all, to control the work of our government? You don't need to do that, we can do it ourselves.

SUSSKIND: We want to inspect each others' stockpile of nuclear weapons and launching sites, so that we know what exists and what will be abandoned.

KHRUSHCHEV: But we do not want to leave anything. We want to destroy everything. Why leave anything? Our objective is that there should be no weapons, that wars should not break out between states. But you want to destroy part of the weapons, and leave part. But why leave any part? Obviously, for war purposes.

SUSSKIND: The presumption of disarmament before controls is that absolute trust and faith on both sides exist. This is simply not true. We have lived through a terrible time of tension and conflict. Therefore, we must first inspect, agree upon control, and then commence disarmament.

KHRUSHCHEV: I find it difficult to reply to this because I am the Prime Minister of a great country, and I know this question more profoundly than you do. You evidently are not well enough acquainted with the problem, and therefore it will be difficult for us to find a meeting ground. The Soviet Union is willing to effect disarmament, and that is the main thing. You speak of inspection and of control. We shall never accept inspection and control without disarmament, because that would be espionage. We must achieve a solution of the main problem—disarmament. We must achieve peace. Let us destroy our weapons and set up an inspection system to prevent anyone from arming in secret.

SUSSKIND: A final thing. When two philosophies are in absolute stalemate with each other, on so many issues, there must be

on the part of both sides the desire to negotiate and accomplish some constructive results, since both sides agree that war is unthinkable. Do you agree that negotiation is the only way and that you are going to pursue that course?

KHRUSHCHEV: That is right. We have different philosophies. Yours is a bourgeois philosophy, ours is a communist one. On this question we shall not agree, and we must not try to reach agreement in this respect. Differences in opinions and philosophical concepts must not lead to wars between our countries.

SUSSKIND: Must we coexist?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, we must coexist.

SUSSKIND: In peace, in conditions of peace?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes.

SUSSKIND: Even though colleagues of yours are advocating a more militaristic approach?

KHRUSHCHEV: Do not try to confuse me. I am an experienced man. And do not exercise pressure on me. We want peace to prevail. Develop your economy and care for your state on capitalist foundations. We do not intervene in your domestic affairs; don't you intervene in our affairs.

SUSSKIND: And of the new countries, neither of us will interfere in their affairs.

KHRUSHCHEV: No one shall interfere, each country will choose the system it wants to have for itself.

SUSSKIND: Would you join with us in an arms embargo? With respect to the new countries, neither of us to ship arms of any description?

KHRUSHCHEV: We proposed that a long time ago. We proposed an agreement that no nation, no state should sell any other country arms. But you did not accept that.

SUSSKIND: But a real arms race is on now with the new countries of Africa particularly.

KHRUSHCHEV: Then let's sign such an agreement. We want peace, not war, and we will do everything on our part to consolidate peace.

SUSSKIND: With respect to the new countries, that would include armaments, as well as military personnel, technicians, and so forth?

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, it would. What is necessary is that you and the British and the French should observe this. That no one should sell them arms. What do these new states need weapons for? They need bread, machinery for the development of their economy. They do not need armaments. They themselves would not be taking them, had no one interfered in their internal affairs.

SUSSKIND: Are you prepared to go to a new summit with our new president?

KHRUSHCHEV: Not only am I ready, but I think that we shall meet by all means.

SUSSKIND: Will that summit have a preparation at a lower level, which would accomplish a lot of progress, before the statesmen sat down?

KHRUSHCHEV: We are prepared to take any reasonable steps which would lead to the improvement of relations between our countries, to peace and friendship. The presidential elections are your domestic affair. We are ready to meet and have reasonable negotiations, to reach an agreement which would ensure peace among us and friendship among all peoples.

But it is getting rather late. It is apparently time to finish this interview.

SUSSKIND: Good night, Mr. Khrushchev.

KHRUSHCHEV: Thank you, thank you very much. You're not offended at me?

SUSSKIND: No, I'm not offended, mystified is the word.

KHRUSHCHEV: Well, good-by and thank you.

SUSSKIND: Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, our guest tonight has been the Premier of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushschev. We've endeavored to ask a number of questions, hoping for his answers; you have heard the questions and the answers. You will have to judge the results for yourself.

October 11, 1960

On the Procedure for Discussing the Disarmament Question

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES:

We are now deciding what questions should be discussed at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. The disarmament question is the most important. That is the opinion of the peoples of the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp. That is the opinion of all who sincerely strive to guarantee a durable peace on earth.

Therefore, we feel that the disarmament question should be discussed precisely at the plenary meeting, so that this question, which is of concern to all peoples, may take precedence in the work of the current Assembly.

The General Assembly, the supreme organ of the United Nations, has been set up not only to settle disputes that may arise between states, but primarily to solve the important problems of ensuring peace.

Under present conditions disarmament is the cardinal problem; the ensuring of durable peace depends on its solution. No other question, no matter how important, can be compared with this one, for on this question depends whether there will be another world war or not. War can be excluded only if agreement on disarmament is reached among the states, only if disarmament is carried out under strict international control so that no state can secretly revive armaments and again threaten other states.

The Soviet delegation has already submitted this question as a primary and urgent matter for discussion at the plenary meeting. Today we appeal to all the delegates to try to realize the thoroughgoing seriousness and urgency of this matter.

Of course, if we take the approach to the disarmament problem suggested by Mr. Lodge, who said that since there were 79 items on the General Assembly agenda it was impossible to devote attention to the disarmament problem—if we take such an approach to the work of the United Nations and understand its main purpose in such a way this means, strictly speaking, condemning the United Nations to disintegration. In that case this organization would not be able to cope with the main task entrusted to it.

The chief duty of the United Nations is to ensure peace. And reaching agreement on disarmament and the destruction of armaments under strict international control is the basic problem in ensuring peace.

All of us should thoroughly understand this, Messrs. delegates, for the destinies of peace and the people are at stake.

The plan now proposed by the Steering Committee has already been tested over the course of many years. How many years have various commissions and committees spent discussing the disarmament problem? Yet, has much been accomplished in these committees to solve this problem practically? Little, very little has been accomplished—one might even say nothing. Therefore, the Soviet Government hopes that all states will, at last, realize the responsibility they bear and the importance of the disarmament problem, and discuss this problem at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

If the disarmament problem continues to be put off, as has been done until now, there is danger that events will develop in the same direction as they did in the League of Nations on the eve of World War II. Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has spoken of this problem with great conviction at the present session. There is danger that the United Nations will follow the same road taken by the cart of the League of Nations on the question of disarmament.

Therefore, we must exert special effort to pull the wheels out of this deep rut and take a road that will ensure agreement on disarmament.

I should like to report to the assembled delegates that a very complicated situation is now developing. Secondary, creeping

questions are being discussed, while with each passing day more and more armaments accumulate, and each passing day brings new acts of provocation which, far from facilitating matters, make the solution of the disarmament question more difficult, increase tension, aggravate the "cold war," and step up the armaments race.

It is difficult to convince people who long for peace and, consequently, for a solution of all questions connected with ensuring peace, that the General Assembly has no time to discuss such an important question as that of general and complete disarmament. You will remember how much time was spent discussing the question of whether it was worthwhile to keep the Chiang Kai-shek puppet in the United Nations, although it is crystal-clear to all sober-minded people that the legitimate rights of People's China, whose government represents all the Chinese people, should have been restored long ago. For how many years in a row has this question been discussed? How many days has it taken up at every session of the General Assembly? The US and its allies in military blocs are the ones mainly responsible for the fact that the legitimate rights of China have not yet been restored in the United Nations.

The representatives of the Western powers have no time to discuss the disarmament problem but they have plenty of time to preserve international tension, to prevent normalization of relations between states. By their actions they are creating a situation, that even in the future would make it impossible to achieve agreement on disarmament. The US Government is continuing to pursue the Dulles policy of brinkmanship. But, as everyone knows, it is easy to fall off a brink and then a world war might break out that would bring mankind incalculable suffering.

Take some of the other "questions" that have been discussed in the United Nations for several years but that produce nothing but a stink and poison the international climate. I mean the so-called Hungarian question, the Tibetan question, and similar questions which the great masters of provocation in the US hunt up. They make every effort to have the UN concentrate its attention on these questions and to divert it from truly important and urgent international problems. But it is clear to all that such questions are not aimed at easing international tension. On the contrary, they are fraught with the seeds of discord and hostility,

and artificially increase international tension. Thus, certain definite circles want to continue the cold war.

It is high time for everybody to realize the seriousness of the present situation.

The fact that most of the heads of states and governments who came to the UN General Assembly have already returned to their countries, while others are about to leave, shows that they apparently have no confidence in the current General Assembly session and have no hope that it will really take up such burning questions as complete and general disarmament.

But this can be remedied, for modern means of transportation make it possible to fly off quickly and return just as quickly. I am confident that if the disarmament problem were seriously raised at the plenary meeting of the Assembly and if special, extraordinary importance were attached to this question, the heads of government and state who have already left would be able to return to the Assembly. Moreover, those heads of government and state who did not participate at the beginning of the session would be able to come here.

This problem could also be settled in another way. I have said as much to Mr. Macmillan, the British Prime Minister, and to other statesmen, as well as at the press conference at the UN Press Association. Perhaps it would be expedient to discuss the problem of general and complete disarmament at an emergency session of the UN General Assembly.

Right now, what with the presidential elections, a situation has arisen in the United States where the government of that country is apparently unwilling to assume any new and important commitments. Yet without the constructive participation of the United States no agreement on disarmament can be reached at the United Nations General Assembly.

An emergency session of the General Assembly could be convened sometime in March or April of next year. It could be proposed that all states should send the heads of state or government as the leaders of their delegations to that session.

It will be necessary to do everything possible to reach a disarmament agreement at that extraordinary session of the General Assembly and to have every country make its substantial

contribution to the common cause of reaching a disarmament agreement and ensuring world peace.

I believe that all who strive for peace and international friendship will welcome such a decision to call an extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly.

I should like to repeat that it would be desirable to hold that session in Europe, for instance in Geneva, since the majority of the United Nations member-countries geographically gravitate to Europe. The session could be held in Moscow or Leningrad. In that case we on our part would do everything in our power to create the appropriate conditions for the normal functioning of the General Assembly session, for all the delegates who come to that session.

Thus, the Soviet delegation insists on the need to have the question of general and complete disarmament discussed at the plenary meeting of the UN General Assembly with the participation of the heads of government. If for one reason or other it becomes impossible to discuss the disarmament problem in its full scope and to reach agreement at this session at least on the main principles, the Soviet Government deems it necessary that an extraordinary session of the General Assembly be convened with only one item on its agenda—general and complete disarmament.

I call upon you, fellow delegates, to realize fully the responsibility of the United Nations in settling such an important question as disarmament. The peoples af the whole world expect the United Nations to pave the way, at long last, to a solution of the urgent and vital task of general and complete disarmament.

October 11, 1960

Statement for Radio Cuba

Dear friends, citizens of the free and independent Republic of Cuba!

While on the American continent in the United States of America, so close to you, I am especially pleased to send greetings to the Cuban people, their revolutionary government and to Fidel Castro, that outstanding revolutionary and Prime Minister of Cuba.

Only several days ago we met him and the other delegates of the Cuban Republic at the UN General Assembly. During the meetings with Fidel Castro we discussed many things and established the fact that the viewpoints of the Soviet Union and Cuba coincide on basic international problems.

The Soviet Union and Cuba are striving for a relaxation of international tension, for general and complete disarmament under strict international control. The Soviet Union is glad that the Cuban delegation on behalf of its people raised its voice for the complete and final ending of colonial slavery, for freedom for all nations in the world.

We at the Assembly heard the voice of Fidel Castro, the voice of Cuba. We applauded him and at present continue to applaud. The sacred principle of freedom for all nations is especially near and dear to those who defended their independence with arms in their hands, who paid a high price so that this freedom might triumph in their countries.

I do not have to tell you how strenuously and persistently the Cuban people fought to have their country free and independent, so that the wealth of Cuba would belong to the Cubans, and the rights of Cuba would belong to the Cuban people.

We especially understand and sympathize with this because the Soviet Union itself had to traverse a great path of struggle before it became a free socialist state. The Soviet people faced

many hardships on their path before our motherland became one of the greatest and strongest powers in the world.

How many times did our enemies crow, how many times did they prepare crusades, and organize blockades in order to destroy us. But you yourselves know that it is impossible to conquer a people when all, young and old, come out in defense of their motherland.

Soviet people rejoice over the liberation of Cuba from the yoke of imperialist monopolies. We supported, are supporting and shall continue to support your struggle for political and economic independence, for a rise in the people's wellbeing. We shall continue to do this not because we have a stuffed purse and don't know what to do with the money. Certainly the Soviet Union is a great and rich country, but we have our own needs, our own urgent problems.

Our motherland has grown unprecedently strong during the forty-three years of Soviet power, the production capacity of its industry has increased many-fold, has exceeded all the capitalist countries with the exception of the United States in the volume of industrial production and has now launched a great peaceful challenge to the United States. The Seven-Year Plan which the Soviet people are carrying out under the leadership of their Communist Party makes it possible for us to reach the US production level and by 1970 we shall be not the second but the first country in the world not only in strength and power but in per capita output as well.

The Soviet people support and will continue to support the Cuban people so that you may achieve great new successes in the development and flourishing of your independent state.

It is impossible to intimidate the Cuban people because they meet with the support of all peace-loving nations throughout the world. The Soviet people wish you success, fortitude and courage in your great cause of reviving your motherland.

A victorious people has to overcome quite a number of difficulties on its path: it is necessary to organize the economy. People desire not only political victory and democratic organization of the country. They want their material requirements to be ever more fully met. This in turn requires greater and persistent work, organization experience, trained personnel. A victorious people

always lack experienced personnel because the exploiters think only about their own class, and keep the toiling workers and peasants in ignorance. These difficulties cannot be ignored.

The enemy uses all possible means for undermining the revolution. They slander the people, the leaders, and the republic and engage in subversive activities. I learned from the papers that the American imperialists are organizing and smuggling subversive detachments into your country, and are supplying them with weapons by means of so-called unknown planes, and you, of course, know, just as we know whose planes these are. You have shot down these unknown planes and they have become known. Unknown planes flew over our country as well: we shot them down and they also appear to be very well known—they belonged to American imperialism.

But if the Cuban people are united, if you are solid, if you are true to your revolutionary government and are well organized, you shall achieve your aims and shall be victorious.

There is no need to assure you, dear friends, that the peoples of the Soviet Union are on your side. Not only today but also throughout your entire struggle for independence we shall be with you. I think there is no need to assure you of this. You yourself feel this very well.

From here, from New York, I warmly greet you and your government headed by Fidel Castro, that fearless man and hero.

I should like to say sincerely:

Long live Soviet-Cuban friendship!

Long live Cuba!

Long live her people!

Long live the complete victory of your just cause!

October 11, 1960

Reply on Disarmament

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES:

I have been listening attentively to all who have spoken here. The representatives of the Western countries objected chiefly to our proposal that the plenary meetings of the General Assembly discuss the disarmament question. These men are old hands when it comes to discussions. They claim that the Soviet Union wants to make propaganda by having the Assembly discuss disarmament at the plenary meetings. However, they themselves are the kind of propaganda-makers who know all the ins and outs, so to speak, when it comes to making propaganda in support of their own views.

The delegates have now been "thrown a bone" for contention, namely, which UN body—the Assembly's plenary or the First Committee—would be the best forum for a discussion of disarmament. This is useless argument! It doesn't exist for us. What we want is to have the question discussed where a settlement of this burning problem may be found soonest, where it may really be settled in the interests of the peoples.

In that case you might ask me: why are we insisting upon having this problem discussed at the plenary meetings of the General Assembly and not in the Committee? The explanation is a very simple one. We have already been in the Committee. We already know that stable—excuse me for the rather rude comparison—we know how it smells. In the Committee we achieved no results at all.

You know that we were in the Five-Power Committee on which Britain, the United States, Canada, France, and the Soviet Union were represented. We spent many years working in that Committee. At first we agreed even not to tell the press anything about its discussions, and to keep this inside the Committee. We

thought and honestly believed that the people taking part in the work of this Committee as representatives of the countries I have named were really interested not in provoking complications during the disarmament discussions but in creating the best conditions for the achievement of agreement at the earliest date.

But what came of all this?

America had the best representative in the Five-Power Committee—Mr. Stassen. However, he finally quit the Committee or rather, "had to quit," since he disagreed with the position he was called upon to take in upholding the views of the late US Secretary of State Dulles.

We saw that the only thing the people in this Committee took seriously was the drinking of tea—or coffee, for those who preferred it. One round of meetings followed another. One spoke, another listened and a third moved that the meeting be postponed to another day. And it went on like that interminably. I can't tell you for sure how many years these meetings went on. But we couldn't stand it any longer. There is, perhaps, a somewhat free-and-easy expression, "let's spit on that institution and quit it." And we quit it because it is not one for settling disarmament, but a screen to deceive the public, to deceive the peoples, the working class, the toiling peasantry and the intellectuals, to deceive all who really want disarmament. But we don't want any part of such deception.

I can see Mr. Jules Moch here. He is considered to be a Socialist and a man who has talked the skin off his teeth at sessions in the Ten Nation Committee. But to what end? None.

When I met Mr. de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, we reached a common understanding on certain problems. We agreed that to achieve accord on disarmament we must start translating this understanding into reality by destroying the means of nuclear-weapon delivery. I continue to support Mr. de Gaulle, the President of the French Republic, on what he said in this connection.

After that, Mr. Jules Moch spoke at a news conference or in some other place—I can't quite remember exactly where, but he ought to know—and repeated what Mr. de Gaulle had said. We were happy to see that through its President, and then through its representative in the Disarmament Committee, France had

stated this for all to hear. We thought that we were beginning to have an understanding with one of the partners in the Atlantic military bloc. But we were mistaken. When Jules Moch turned up in the Committee he started saying quite different things. That was another Jules Moch—not the one who had addressed the public but the one who had spent many years in the Committee and was doing all he could to stymie the disarmament talks.

Gentlemen, we still have some patience left. Our last hope is that perhaps at its plenary meetings the General Assembly will be able to help in achieving a disarmament agreement and that it will finally shield humanity from war. Let me tell once again, gentlemen, that if a war breaks out it will be a global war. Many can't imagine what a future war will be like. I can, and concretely so. The Soviet Union is not afraid of war! If we have war thrust upon us, we shall fight for our country and we shall win, whatever the cost!

But we must not forget the fact that this war would cause untold losses and that you now sitting here would also be held responsible for that. True, some of those sitting here have no good name to shield in the first place. History will never forgive them that! Let me emphasize: we believe it is essential for the General Assembly to discuss disarmament at its plenary meetings.

Among the speakers here were Mr. Greene, for Canada, and the United States representative—since his name is hard to pronounce I shan't do it in order not to get my tongue twisted. I think everyone will guess whom I mean without any mistake. They said that Khrushchev, you see, was also planning to leave. Yes, I am planning to leave for Moscow on Thursday, October 13, at midnight. But if you really want disarmament I will not only put off my departure for Moscow, but will confer here until a disarmament agreement is reached.

Things are going well in our country. I, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, have been away for a month already, but things in the country are going ahead wonderfully. Therefore I can spend here as much more time as we need to reach an agreement on disarmament. Things in our country are improving with every year, with every day.

You believe the struggle for disarmament is propaganda. And you think that by raising the Hungarian and Tibetan questions

you are sowing, as Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki rightly put it here, the seeds of peace and understanding, don't you? No, you just dig up those questions which are likely to make countries quarrel with one another. Well, do as you like. We do not fear such issues either. We are no bulls to be teased by a red cloth and to attack those who tease. We are Communists; we have strong nerves; we have had good schooling in fighting. We fought the White Guards for four years; we overthrew and routed the enemies of the working class; and you want to scare us with disputes. Well, gentlemen, you haven't got the guts for that, I'll tell you.

Why should you raise the Tibetan question? But, as I have already said, do raise it, if you need to. While moving about in New York, I see always Americans chewing gum—this is their habit. Now instead of gum you want to give the Assembly delegates a piece of cotton for them to sit and chew on. Those who have an itch for this may do it, but we are not going to.

Gentlemen, I think we should wake up those slumbering here; wake up those absent from here—for the nations have sent them to the General Assembly to discuss the disarmament problem. Instead, they are roaming about in New York or God knows where, though they are paid with their people's money.

I state, gentlemen, that the time will come when you will realize the necessity of disarmament. People will throw out those who put roadblocks in the way to peace and understanding rather than create conditions for an agreement on disarmament.

You will not scare us, the people of the socialist world. Our economy is expanding, our engineering is on the upgrade, and the people are united. You want to force us into the arms race, don't you? We do not want it, but we do not fear it, either. We shall beat you! Rockets in the Soviet Union are turned out by production line methods. Recently I visited a factory and saw rockets coming off the assembly line like sausages from an automatic machine, rocket after rocket.

Some people would like to test the strength of our ground forces. You did once, and we defeated you. I mean those who made war on us in the first years after the October Revolution: the imperialists of the United States, France, Britain, Germany, and Japan. We routed their troops and threw them out like scum

from our sacred soil. Should the imperialists repeat their aggression now, we shall defeat them again, but on a more advanced level.

Some gentlemen will immediately jabber that Khrushchev is threatening somebody. No, Khrushchev is not threatening anybody, but is forecasting your real future. If you fail to realize the actual situation and refuse to create conditions for an agreement on disarmament, things will become more complicated, because if there is no disarmament, there will be an arms race. And any arms race is bound, in the long run, to reach its climax in a war. Should war break out, many of those sitting here will be among the missing.

Wake up, gentlemen; pinch yourself where it hurts if you find it difficult to stay awake. Many have become accustomed to hearing unctuous words here. I will not be sly with them, nor pat them on the back now that the world is on the brink of catastrophe. If my words are not pleasing to someone, then I have achieved my goal—that is what I wanted to do.

What is there to add?

So far not all of the peoples of Asia and Africa who have recently rid themselves of colonial oppression are aware of their own strength; they still follow their hangmen of yesterday—the colonialists. But while this is the case today, it will not be so tomorrow; no, it will not. The peoples will rise, straighten their shoulders and assert their desire to become their own masters. Take my word, gentlemen, this will happen in the not too distant future.

It is your right to vote for the discussion of this problem in the First Committee. We have no objections against the First Committee—we have nothing against it, for I do not know where conditions are better—in the First Committee or in the General Assembly. But we say that we have already tried the First Committee and nothing has come of it. This is why we would like—for the happiness of the nations—to have this problem discussed once again at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. If you drive us into that committee again, we reserve the right to take or not to take part in its work. If we see that the committee is turned into a smoke screen to mislead people and that nothing is really done about disarmament except to talk about it, as is the

case to date, we shall walk out of the committee; we shall not be used as a smoke screen, nor will we deceive the working people of the world.

We have listened to the Canadian, American and British representatives here. They posed, as they have before, as righteous people—those same colonialists who are rich because the colonies are poor, because they have robbed these colonies. And here they pose as Saint Nicholases. Honest people, however, can see their real faces.

Yes, we left the Five Nation Committee, but why? You gentlement had turned that Committee into a stable. You had raised such a stink there that there was no air for an honest man to breathe, and we left. Like all honest persons and true sons of working people, we long for fresh air. We have left not to return.

Gentlemen, if the disarmament problem should be discussed in the First Committee, we shall take part in its work at first. We will see how the discussion proceeds.

Perhaps a decision should be adopted to expand the Ten Nation Committee. Incidentally, our proposal envisages a Fifteen Nation Committee. We are prepared to participate in such a committee if representatives of the neutral countries are included in it, as we propose.

Such a committee will be able to work successfully, if the General Assembly passes a resolution to the effect that all nations pledge to disarm and to destroy their weapons under international control.

What kind of international control is required? I repeat: if a resolution is passed on general and complete disarmament and the destruction of weapons, we shall agree to any kind of control. You may choose the toughest representatives from among those who hate communism and socialism—we shall believe even them—and let them work out proposals for control. The deeper and wider the international control of disarmament, the more secure will be the hope of the peoples that no country can make weapons secretly or threaten any of its neighbors with war.

We do not fear control, that is control of disarmament, a control which would follow the adoption of a resolution on disarmament. In this way, disarmament would be carried out under control.

And what has Mr. Macmillan proposed from this rostrum? In his talk with me he said: Mr. Khrushchev, don't be in a hurry. It is impossible to solve such a problem overnight. We'd better, he said, do something like this: let us get together and set up a political committee and a scientific committee.

And this scientific committee will do research into the best method of killing a flea: is it better to pull out its legs or to tear away its head? This, of course, is a "scientific problem," gentlemen, but only for those who do not want disarmament. This is why I told Mr. Macmillan: you want to drag us into a labyrinth with no light or air, infested only with bats which fear light. You want us to take part there in work on scientific problems of how to achieve disarmament—and this will take, they say, from five to ten years.

Gentlemen, if we are to wait another five to ten years, we can say for certain we shall never come to terms concerning disarmament. If today only three powers are in actual possession of atomic weapons and a fourth state has begun testing them, in five or ten years, I am sure, countries possessing nuclear weapons will be counted by the dozen, and agreement will then be much harder to arrive at.

It is already possible to send rockets and missiles to any point on the globe, and we can—on top of this—land our spaceships at any point. And what will the picture be like in five or ten years? Gentlemen, you ought to realize it clearly. Therefore, if you do want peace—though not all present here do, but the majority perhaps does, and I turn to this majority—raise your voices for disarmament, and mankind will be grateful to you. If you follow imperialist, monopolist capital whose envoys spoke here, if you follow the North Atlantic military bloc, people will damn you, because they have trusted to you the holy of holies—peace, and you will have disappointed people in their hopes, failed to reach an agreement on disarmament, and led mankind to war.

These are the alternatives before you, gentlemen. Make your choice.

Thank you for your attention.

October 11, 1960

News Conference

Late at night, on October 11, the crowd of newsmen who keep a constant vigil at the Soviet Mission to the United Nations swelled to unusual proportions. Everybody was waiting for Khrushchev's return from the United Nations. As soon as he stepped out of his car, the questions began. The following is a transcript of Khrushchev's conversation with the correspondents in front of the Soviet Mission.

CORRESPONDENT: We have just heard your statement at the General Assembly.

KHRUSHCHEV: Yes, you may congratulate the imperialist states, they may celebrate a "victory." They prevented the discussion of disarmament at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly and brought the world nearer to catastrophe. This is a victory for the forces of war and not for the forces of peace. Every honest person will regret this decision. Apparently the United States, Britain, France and Canada do not want disarmament and other countries do not yet realize the need for solving this question. But we shall not spare our strength, we shall fight for peace, and expose the warmongers. People will wake up if it is not too late.

CORRESPONDENT: You have painted a gloomy picture. Don't you see any ray of hope?

KHRUSHCHEV: Not at this session.

CORRESPONDENT: And in the future?

KHRUSHCHEV: If the peoples raise their voice and compel the governments to disarm not in words but in deeds, there will be no war. Without pressure from the peoples, the Western governments will not agree to disarm.

The imperialist countries gained this voting victory in order to degrade the significance of the discussion of disarmament at the General Assembly. But we shall not relax our efforts in the struggle for disarmament. We represent a country which genuinely stands for disarmament and lasting peace and no one will make us budge from this position.

October 12, 1960

The Question of Granting Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN:

The Government of the Soviet Union has proposed that the Fifteenth General Assembly Session put on its agenda the question of the adoption by UN member states of a Declaration on the granting of independence to the colonial countries and peoples. We believe it is necessary for the General Assembly to discuss this matter at its plenary meetings.

The exceptionally great importance of the international problem of delivering mankind from the shameful colonialist practices inherited from the past, should be obvious to everyone. Dozens of peoples and countries have already shaken off the ignominious colonialist yoke. The time is ripe to have all the peoples liberated from colonialist oppression fully and once and for all. This is a matter that is now particularly acute and pressing.

This point was dwelt upon by President Nkrumah of Ghana, Prime Minister Nehru of India, President Nasser of the United Arab Republic, President Sukarno of the Indonesian Republic, Prime Minister Castro of Cuba, President Sekou Touré of the Republic of Guinea, Shukeiry, the head of the Saudi-Arabia delegation, and many other delegates in their speeches at this Assembly.

The General Assembly must realize in all seriousness that if the most urgent measures are not taken, colonialism can still cause much suffering and sacrifice, take many more millions of lives and provoke armed conflicts and wars threatening peace and security not only in separate parts of the globe, but throughout the world generally.

Much is said about freedom, equality, and brotherhood in the West. There is talk of this also among the colonial powers. Their

ruling circles even try to assure us with a serious face that the colonialist system is a progressive one; they call this system of slavery "help for the backward peoples" and "the raising of these peoples to the highest level of civilization." However, tens and hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America know only too well what this "highest level of civilization" actually means for those nations enslaved by the colonialists.

As a result of this "civilization" the population of several colonies, for instance, the Congo, has dwindled to nearly half of what it was before. Everyone knows how Australia's indigenous population was exterminated. Mr. Menzies who spoke here ought not to forget that. The same thing happened in the United States where the indigenous Indian population was all but killed off, with those who survived chased into reservations.

And though America's Negro population ultimately became free after the abolition of slavery, they are still discriminated against and their elementary rights are curtailed to the minimum. In many states of the United States Negro children cannot go to school together with white children. Negroes are barred from hotels for whites, from theaters and restaurants. Such is the true face of the "civilization" that the imperialist colonialist powers boast so much about! A fine sort of civilization, indeed! It was planted by force in defiance of the wishes of the peoples. The colonialists sent troops, artillery, and machine guns, and after the troops came missionaries carrying the cross.

It was just recently that Mr. Macmillan waxed eloquent when painting a picture of the blessings that Britain had conferred on the colonial peoples. But litsen to what British newspapers say about the real state of affairs in the colonies. Kenya, Rhodesia, and the other colonies are in a state of turbulence! The colonialists have been forced to despatch reinforcements to Rhodesia. What sort of reinforcements are these—grain, medicines, doctors, and teachers? Oh, no, these are reinforcements in the form of troops, machine guns, shells, and cartridges. Send more cartridges! This is what the colonialist benefactors demand.

Indeed, today prayers will no longer cover up the nakedness of colonialist plunder. The peoples whom the colonialists seek to inoculate with "civilization" know that this sort of "inoculation" is costing their brothers their lives. We must resolutely unmask

the colonialists and reveal the true face of those who brought disease, poverty, hunger, and death to the enslaved countries. We must not let the colonialists go on hiding behind lying phraseology about "the giving of help" and "civilizing," claiming that the colonial peoples are still not mature enough for self-government.

Those are all the ravings of the slave-traders and the slave-owners. No, it is not civilization that they want to bring. They want to go on using the cheap labor of the colonial peoples, to go on exploiting the riches of the colonial countries, to go on waxing rich and fat by looting the oppressed peoples.

All the peoples can govern their countries by themselves. All that is necessary is to give them the opportunity to do so.

If the United Nations fails to adopt proposals aimed at abolishing the colonial regime, the peoples of the colonial countries will have no other recourse than to take up arms. If they are not granted the right to an independent existence, to the choice of a political and social system at their own discretion, to the arrangement of their own lives on their own soil as they themselves see fit, they will win this right in struggle. I have said before and I shall say again that the Soviet people are on the side of those fighting for liberation from the colonial yoke, for their freedom and independence!

A lot has been said here about the situation in the Congo, and about the obligation of the United Nations to help the Congolese people in their struggle for independence. But what has actually been happening so far? When the UN intervened in the Congo, Mr. Hammarskjold, the Secretary-General, did everything he could for the benefit of the colonialists. By means of the action he took, he disrupted the normal functioning of the lawful government and deprived it of all means of communication. The imperialist-colonialists found a Mobutu, supplied this renegade and traitor to the Congolese people and others like him with money, and began to corrupt the army in order that they might continue with their colonialist plunder with the army's support. But the Congolese people did not give up. Drawing support from the resolve of its people, from the resolve of the lawfully elected Parliament, the Congo Government, which Mr. Lumumba heads, is doing all in its power to uphold its country's independence and

integrity. That is really the reflection of the will of the Congolese people.

Life has debunked the falsehoods told by the Belgian colonialists who alleged that they had gone back to the Congo to protect women, children, and old people. Actually no one ever threatened them. The colonialists returned when they saw that the new parliament and the new government that had come into being when the Congo had proclaimed its independence, wished to govern the country by themselves and dispose of its riches in the interests of the people, when they saw that this parliament and this government wanted to have not only nominal but also factual independence.

History supplies quite a number of instructive examples on this score. There was a time in Russia, too, when serfdom was cracking at every seam and the peasants had begun to revolt against the much-hated yoke of landlord serfdom. The more farsighted members of the landed gentry said at the time that the serfs must be freed from the top because otherwise they would themselves take their freedom from the bottom. To some extent this is applicable today to the colonial powers. If the colonialists fail to meet the lawful demands of the peoples of the colonies and dependencies, these peoples will take their freedom by force. That will be quite fair. They will take what rightly belongs to them.

The people who are against a discussion of the question of the abolition of the colonial system at the General Assembly's plenary meetings, with the participation of the heads of the governments, are demonstrating the shortsighted character of their policy and the bankrupt nature of their reckonings. In vain do the colonialists hope that they will be able to halt the great movement of the oppressed peoples for freedom and independence. The entire trend of world history calls for the abolition of the decayed colonial regime. The regime's final demise is but a matter of time. If the United Nations wishes to be faithful to its Charter, it must not hold aloof in deciding this matter.

That is why the Soviet delegation is calling upon all the states to coordinate measures to abolish the regime of colonialist rule, so that this natural and inexorable historical process may take place under conditions where peace and international security will be preserved.

We are addressing ourselves to the representatives of the Afro-Asian countries who have but recently gained their independence. We wish them to be duly aware of their responsibility in this present hour of history when the struggle of the colonial peoples for their complete emancipation is gaining increasing momentum.

Esteemed delegates, representatives of countries which have become independent and have joined the United Nations as equal members:

How many centuries was it that the colonialists squeezed out of you every ounce of sweat and blood, ruthlessly exploited your peoples and put down every living thing in your country! Now, when they can no longer go on with their policy of plunder, rapine, and murder in your countries, they pose as your benefactors. They now act the role of benign Christians and are not even averse themselves to condemning oppression and colonialism. They claim that by taking part in the colonial system they merely paved the way for your countries to achieve independence and self-government.

But that is the lie that a robber, who knows he is a robber, tells. They now want to erase the memory of their atrocities in the minds of the peoples they strangled for centuries. That it why they are flirting with you, staging receptions, and delivering nice speeches.

Please get me right. We have a tremendous amount of experience and we well know all the artifices and cunning ruses of the oppressors, of the imperialists and the colonialists.

This is all being done to win you over, to make of you, the representatives of states that were but recently colonial countries, a buttress for the colonialists themselves today, to get you to help them in their struggles to keep the colonialist system going. In the countries that have gained political independence they seek to create conditions that would enable the colonialists to go on with their pillage of the peoples by taking advantage of the economic backwardness of these countries.

You must realize that the fate of your brothers on the African continent largely depends upon you. The colonialists want to use precisely your hands to do a dirty thing, to thwart the adoption of a Declaration for the liberation of all the colonial peoples.

They want to use your hands to go on drawing the noose tight around the neck of the colonial peoples, to throttle these peoples.

That is why the Soviet Government is calling on you to display your will, to show that you not only know how to defend your own interests, the interests of your own peoples and states, but also that you who are now independent have not forgotten those still suffering in colonialist bondage.

Is it for our countries to fear the phantom strength of the colonialists? We have truth on our side! The balance of forces is in our favor. If you actively support the countries fighting against the colonialist yoke, we shall be in the majority. It is necessary to show courage and resolve. It is necessary to raise our voice against the colonialists, whatever guise they assume. The conscience of everyone in this hall is under the control of the people. Sooner or later the people will demand an accounting and will ask how their representative voted in the United Nations. Was he for the immediate and full termination of colonialist bondage, for freedom for all the peoples? Or did he waver?

We are calling for joint action in the struggle against colonialism. May the will of the peoples be done and an end be put once and for all to the colonial system! May all the colonies receive independence! May all the peoples become free!

The abolition of colonialism would be of supreme importance for easing international tensions. The armed conflicts and the wars we have seen since the Second World War, such as the wars in Indonesia, Indochina, and Algeria, the aggression against Egypt, foreign intervention in the Lebanon and Jordan, and the plots against Syria and Iraq, occurred precisely because the imperialist colonialists sought to stifle the liberation movement and hamper the national advancement of the Afro-Asian and Latin-American countries. Moreover, the recent intervention against the Congo Republic resulted in an exacerbation of the international situation and jeopardized peace in Africa—and not only in Africa.

That is why we say that the problem of the complete abolition of the colonialist system is to a large extent the problem of preserving and consolidating peace and international security.

The delegation of the Soviet Union has submitted this question for consideration to the plenary session of the General Assembly, the most representative UN body. The need to have the matter discussed right in this forum and at the highest level, with the heads of government taking part, is quite obvious.

The discussion directly at plenary meetings—with the heads of government and foreign ministers of the UN member states participating—of the problem of eliminating the colonialist system will turn this discussion into a most authoritative one and guarantee the most favorable conditions for the successful solution of this problem within the framework of the United Nations.

Thank you for your attention.

October 12, 1960

Remarks on the Colonial Question

Speech at the UN General Assembly

The representative of the Philippines, Senator Lorenzo Sumulong, in the course of discussing the resolution calling for consideration of independence for colonies at the plenary meeting, referred to the countries of Eastern Europe as "colonies" of the Soviet Union.

The representative of Roumania, Silviu Brucan, took the floor to protest on a point of order. The floor was then given to Premier Khrushchev on a point of order. Khrushchev stated:

ESTEEMED DELEGATES!

I protest the unequal treatment of the representatives of the states meeting here. Why, when the gentleman who represents his country, the country of the Congo, was speaking, did the chairman stop him? Why? He was referring to a telegram he had received from his brothers* who are still suffering under the colonial yoke. Yet the chairman stopped him, stating that this was a question on substance, whereas it was a question of procedure, he said, that was being discussed.

Why, when this groveler before American imperialism now speaks not at all on a question of procedure, why does the chairman—who evidently sympathizes with colonial domination—not stop him? Is this just? No, it is not.

Esteemed Delegates, Mr. President,

We are living on earth not by God's favor or yours, but by the strength and reason of the great people of the Soviet Union and all the peoples who are fighting for independence.

You cannot suppress the voice of the peoples, the voice of truth, which is now sounding and which will continue to sound. An end and death to colonial slavery! Down with it! It should be buried—the deeper, the better.

*The telegram received by the representative of the Congo (Brazzaville) was from the people of Portuguese Cabina. It was while he was speaking about the difficult conditions under which they live that he was stopped by the President of the Assembly.

October 12, 1960

Reply on the Colonial Question

Speech at the UN General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, ESTEEMED DELEGATES:

I am anticipating with pleasure the fact that, as I hope, the Assembly will adopt a decision to discuss at its plenary meeting the question of the complete abolition of the colonial system. If my hope is not justified and the Assembly does not vote for a discussion of this question at its plenary meeting, then not only shall I be disappointed—that is not especially important—but millions and millions of people who are in a state of colonial slavery and are awaiting their liberation will be disappointed.

Gentlemen, I am extremely pleased by another fact, and that is that the representative of Great Britain, who took the floor here, sharply criticized my position. It gives me great satisfaction that the colonialists regard me as an enemy of the colonial system. That is a great reward for me, and I am proud of it.

I am very fond of the words spoken by August Bebel, the leader of the German workers, a Social-Democrat. He said approximately the following: "If the bourgeoisie praise you, Bebel, think what stupid thing you have done, for which they praise you. If the bourgeoisie speak badly of you, that means that you serve the working class, the proletariat loyally!"

If the colonialists now rail at me, I am proud of the fact; it means that I am loyally serving the peoples who are fighting for their independence, for their freedom.

The representative of Great Britain has taken the floor here. It would have been more fitting for him to learn a lesson, let us say, from a rich peasant. When the system of private ownership of the means of production existed in our country, the rich people acted as follows—and, probably this method is used in all coun-

tries—when they hired a laborer, they fed him well on the first day. Subsequently the rich man exploited the laborer mercilessly, squeezed all the strength out of him, but when the laborer finished the work for which he was hired, he was also fed well so that he might at least retain a good recollection of the exploiter who had squeezed all the strength out of him. The British colonialists, Mr. Representative of Great Britain, squeezed the blood and sweat out of the peoples of India, the peoples of Burma, and the other peoples whom they exploited and are still continuing to exploit.

You too should show respect for these peoples who are now acquiring their independence and freedom, not by your mercies, but as a result of their struggle and the call of the times. Do not poison that day for them, the day which should be a holiday for the peoples who are acquiring their independence. They are human beings after all; grant them that moral satisfaction. They have fought for it. You cannot even rise to the level of the rich peasant who exploited the poor peasants. You want to make these people sweat to the end.

Mr. Representative of Great Britain, when I said in my speech today that the people are rebelling and the British colonialists are sending guns in order to suppress them, I used information from your London newspapers. This information was published a day or two ago. So that these are quite fresh facts, indicating that the peoples of the colonial countries are rebelling. We applaud them, but they must be given assistance on our part, because the colonialists are better armed, they are destroying and annihilating the populations of the colonies.

Now with regard to the speech of the delegate of the Philippines. I must say that I have a dual reaction to this speech. I spoke sharply, I protested and I protest against the fact that he began "to stutter" in the first half of his speech but then he improved. And the representative of the Philippines arrived at a correct conclusion. I explain this as follows: He is not a bad man. As he said, he suffered for many years, for many years the people of the Philippines suffered under the yoke of the Spaniards. Then they were "taken over" by the Americans, and they barely achieved independence, although God knows what kind of independence it is. It has to be peered at through a microscope, this independence.

The delegate of the Philippines understands what colonialism is, what the colonial yoke is. And apparently, in the first part of his speech he did not speak sincerely. That was the effect of the remains, the strings which still bind him, so to say, to the master—the United States of America. And they pulled the strings. And then, when he was stopped, he apparently came to the conclusion —why the hell should I go ahead—the Americans themselves do not take the floor but lie low, while they pushed me forward to speak for them. And that is why he, so to speak, gave vent to his feelings and poured out all of his hatred for the colonialists, for the colonialist yoke. And I applauded him for these words with pleasure and with all my heart.

I believe that the time will come when the Philippines will become a genuinely independent country. Come to our country. We shall give you the opportunity to go to any republic. We shall ask the republics to invite you, and shall ask you to inspect them.

Look at everything captiously, with a partial attitude, and even then you will understand what freedom is, and what colonial slavery is. There is no greater freedom for man than the freedom to build and develop an independent state, moreover a socialist state, such as ours is.

The Soviet people have already completed the building of socialism and have begun to build communism.

I know that not everyone here will applaud me, because you have to grow to an understanding of the heights of development of human society. But the time will come when you yourselves will speak about socialism from this tribunal, provided, of course, that this tribunal remains, if it is destined to remain. At present it is a very shaky tribunal.

The floor has been taken here by an Englishman and by a Colombian. The Englishman and the Colombian are, practically, one and the same thing. The Englishman means the NATO military bloc, and Colombia means the Monroe Doctrine. And therefore one can feel which way the wind blows. And one can feel the smell. One can feel it! Mr. Colombian, we listened to you as the representative of Colombia, but your voice is not the voice of the Colombian people. The Colombian people, like all other peoples, do not want to prolong colonial slavery. I am sure of

that. The time will come when the representative of Colombia will really speak on behalf of the Colombian people from this rostrum.

Gentlemen, I ask all the delegates to express themselves in favor of a discussion of the Declaration on independence and freedom for the colonial peoples at the plenary meeting of the General Assembly. The colonialists understand the difference between a discussion "behind the scenes" and at a "solemn meeting." I sit in the hall and look at the backs of Spaniards. As soon as some colonialist hints at support for the policy of the colonialists, they applaud. Why? Because they are colonialists! There is a saying: "The devil does not gore his own!" because devils know when to use their horns. And a colonialist supports a colonialist!

It is pleasant to live in times like these, when great events are taking place, when the colonial system is collapsing! The honor has fallen to our lot to take a spade and to dig a deep grave, to bury colonialism deep in the ground and to drive an aspen stake into it, that it may never rise again. According to an old belief of the people, if you bury the devil you must drive an aspen stake into his grave, that he may not rise from the coffin—so let it be with colonialism. It must be buried according to these traditions of the people.

I am certain that we shall find the courage, and chiefly the correct understanding, to adopt a decision in keeping with our conscience, and our conscience must tell us that the time has come for all people to be free.

May the representatives of the African peoples, the blacks, as they are called, forgive and excuse me. I do not know how this sounds to the Negroes, are they not offended? I want to express my sympathies for them. It was a pleasure to me to listen to them. The colonialists said about these people that they had allegedly not matured for self-government. The representatives of the imperialists who took the floor here have themselves not risen to the level of a general human conception of freedom, or to the appreciation of this freedom that is shown by these people, the black people, who have torn themselves free of the yoke and are boldly expressing their thoughts and defending the interests of their peoples. That is a great joy.

Some white men boast of the fact that they are white, and regard the black people arrogantly. But can one judge people by

the color of their skin? One man has a black skin, another a yellow skin, the third a white skin. The most terrible thing is when a man, be he white or black in the color of his skin, has a black soul, that is a filthy soul. For this filthy soul cannot be improved.

We greet our brothers, the black people, the Negroes, we greet all peoples who are fighting for their freedom and independence. We are helping them and shall help them, and all peoples must help them, and we profoundly believe that the time will come when the peoples of all countries will feel that they are brothers, when there will be no more exploited, no exploiters. Only one banner will wave—the banner of friendship, the banner of peace, the banner of brotherhood, and on this banner there will be inscribed the words—Communist Society.

October 12, 1960

Speech at Dinner for Delegations of New UN Members

Premier Khrushschev gave a dinner in honor of the delegations of a number of young African states and Cyprus. The dinner was attended by the heads of the delegations of Nigeria, Cameroon, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Cyprus, the acting heads of the delegations of Togo, the Ivory Coast, the Malagasy Republic, and Somali, and by representatives of the delegations of Chad, Mali, and Senegal.

Also present at the dinner were N. V. Podgorny of the Ukraine, K. T. Mazurov of Byelorussia, A. A. Gromyko and the members and advisers of the Soviet delegation.

N. S. Khrushchev congratulated the representatives of the new states on the achievement of independence, wished them big success and urged them to facilitate the liberation of those peoples who are still oppressed by colonialism.

The head of the Cameroon delegation, S. Okala, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, spoke towards the end of the dinner on the newly emerging freedom in Africa. At the end of his speech he toasted chairman Khrushchev.

Khrushchev replied as follows:

Thank you, Mr. Minister, for the words of greeting and the kind wishes addressed to our people, the Soviet Government and to me personally. I assure you, gentlemen, that the government and the peoples of the Soviet Union are fully aware of their responsibility. They realize that we are strong and that our strength, reason and will must be applied to the maintenance and consolidation of peace, against those who fan war. Our people want peace and friendship, freedom and happiness for all peoples.

I should like to thank you in particular, gentlemen, for accepting our invitation and attending this dinner unafraid of the fairy tales of those who depict us as "communists - imperialists,"

"communists - colonialists," those who picture us as more terrible than the devil. The imperialists want to depict all communists as if they swallow people, some from the head, and others from the feet. *(Laughter, Animation.)*

To this I say once again: travel to our country, look at our life for yourselves and you will see for yourselves that the communists are not like that at all.

I have been a Communist for over 40 years. Comrade Tupolev, sitting opposite, our aircraft designer, is not a Communist, he is a non-party man, but this does not prevent us from being great friends. In our country by no means all people are Communists and no one demands that all should be Communists. The population of the Soviet Union is 214,000,000 yet the party numbers among its members only some 9,000,000. And this does not hinder the unity and cohesion of our people. I repeat: come to the Soviet Union, see everything for yourselves. You can come to us on parliamentary and government delegations or as tourists. Choose yourselves the capacity in which you would like to come to us.

You know that in our country power belongs to the workers, peasants and the working intellectuals. We have no capitalists or landlords. In the past things were different and the working people lived under very difficult conditions. I, for instance, began working at the age of eight or nine. In my childhood I was a sheep and cow tender working for an estate owner. At the age of fifteen I began working in a factory; later I worked in pits and at a chemical plant. Then for more than three years I fought in the Civil War. This is my biography. All ministers of our government have biographies like that, we all came from the people, from workers' and peasants' families and from the families of working intellectuals. That is why we well understand the people's needs. Today I am Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the greatest, the most powerful country in the world.

The colonialists seek to depict us as "Soviet imperialists," as "communists - colonialists." Do not believe them. We want nothing from the peoples of Africa and other continents besides friendship. We are ready to help you whenever you ask us to. Our country has everything needed for successful development. Judge for yourselves, the Soviet Union has, as I said before, a

population of 214,000,000 and 3,500,000 are added each year to the population. We have plenty of iron ore, coal and oil. The territory of the Soviet Union is vast: it stretches over 12,000 to 13,000 kilometers from east to west. We have plenty of everything in our own country and as regards the question of communism this is each people's own affair and this question is decided by the free choice of the people of each country.

Communism is not pie in the sky. Communism is the real and concrete conditions of the peoples' life: a short working day, good housing, the world's lowest rent, good clothes, well-fed and well-nourished children, free tuition for them, state stipends for students, free medical aid, pensions, abolition of taxes on the population, so that in five years we shall have no taxes at all—such are the elements of communism in reality, in practical life.

Now in our country we have a seven-hour working day with a six-hour day for miners. In 1964 we shall start the transition to a six-hour working day for the country as a whole and to a five-hour day for miners, and in twenty years our working day will last not more than five or four hours.

This year we shall make 65 million tons of steel and next year 71 million tons. This year we shall extract over 145 million tons of oil.

Such is the rate of development of production in our country. We have boundless forest tracts. Our natural resources are inexhaustible. What do we not have? We have no cocoa, coffee, pineapples and mango. *(Animation.)* But this is what you have. You can give these and other products to us and we in turn will give you our products in exchange. We shall be grateful to you and you, probably, will be grateful to us. Let us be friends and cooperate. Here is the example of Cuba for you. When the United States monopolies proclaimed an economic blockade of Cuba, refused to supply her with oil, we helped Cuba, gave her oil and bought sugar from the Cubans.

There are no reasons why we should not live in peace and friendship. We sincerely want this friendship with your peoples and with other peoples. I invite you once more: come over to us, to our country more frequently; every time you come you will know it better and better and I am confident you will like it.

We shall show you in our country anything you want to see. Visit any of our republics, look at the life of the peoples who before the revolution lived under colonial oppression and now live in freedom and happiness. You will see for yourselves how ridiculous are the fabrications of the imperialists about "the slaves of communism."

I thank you once more, gentlemen, for your kind words and wishes. We wholeheartedly wish you success in life, and in the struggle for the independence and happiness of your peoples.

October 13, 1960

Further Remarks on the Colonial Question

Speech at the UN General Assembly

ESTEEMED PRESIDENT, ESTEEMED DELEGATES:

I should like to say that the delegation of the Soviet Union is greatly satisfied by the fact that the representative of the United States has agreed that this most important question, the question of the liberation of the colonial peoples, must be discussed at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly.

I should like to stress that this is not a point of procedure but of supporting the substance of the Declaration on the Abolition of the Colonial System. We must ensure the establishment of conditions under which the peoples still languishing under colonial oppression may attain freedom and independence. This freedom is not being presented to them on a silver platter; they are winning it in a hard and bloody struggle. Millions have perished in this struggle. Therefore it is essential to give them an extended declaration, to point out in this declaration what colonial slavery has brought to these peoples, to point out the road to the liberation of peoples from colonial oppression, to declare that all peoples—black, white, yellow—regardless of the color of their skin or their religion—must be equal.

I should like to say once again that there are no hopeless people. Even colonialists like the Spaniards and the British—and they are colonialists of the first water—even they are not hopeless. And with the proper ventilation of their brains, they begin properly to understand the question which is being discussed by the General Assembly session; even they have announced that they would vote in the affirmative.

So you see what a nice company we are. Our socialist state which is guided by the Communist Party has submitted a proposal on the abolition of the colonial system for discussion at the

plenary meeting of the Assembly, and we are very glad that our proposal is supported by the United States, and that even Great Britain—this classic colonialist country—will vote together with us. I take their hand and shake it. If we continue to act in the same way in the future this will only be to the benefit of all the peoples.

Gentlemen, had the Assembly acted on the problem of disarmament just as unanimously as on this problem, you can imagine what a step we could have made towards agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control! That is why I should like to ask you to draw the following conclusion: the peoples of the world must take their destinies into their own hands without expecting that this problem, the problem of mankind's future, the problem of war and peace, can be settled only by the Soviet Union, the United States, Great Britain and France. No. This problem concerns all people.

We stand out only in that we possess the most perfect and the most destructive weapons. But this is not the main thing. The main thing is that should a war start, all the peoples of the world will suffer from that war. Therefore it is essential that all the peoples of the world should approach the problem of disarmament, of world peace, with the same feeling of responsibility with which they are approaching—have not approached yet, but are approaching—the solution of the problem of liquidating the colonial system.

Thank you for your attention.

October 13, 1960

The Threat to Universal Peace

Speech at the General Assembly

MR. PRESIDENT, FELLOW DELEGATES:

The United Nations General Assembly has passed a decision to include the question of the "threat to universal peace created once sent their spy planes into the air space of the Soviet Union. on the agenda of the Fifteenth Session. This is not a routine item on the Assembly's agenda, but an extraordinary issue which stems from actions which are incompatible with normal relations between states which are not at war.

It will be recalled that the American authorities more than once sent their spy planes into the air space of the Soviet Union. On May 1, 1960, literally on the eve of the Four Power Summit Conference at Paris, an American U-2 spy plane intruded deep into our territory and was shot down.

President Eisenhower of the United States, far from apologizing to our country for this crude aggressive act, declared such flights a state policy of the United States. Moreover, two months later another American war plane, the RB-47, intruded into Soviet territory, and again the brazen aggressor was bought down.

Such actions on the part of the United States of America have a pernicious effect upon the entire international climate and are fraught with incalculable disasters.

I already declared from this rostrum on September 23 that the Soviet Government considers that the question of the United States aggressive actions against the Soviet Union must be discussed directly at a plenary session of the General Assembly.

I should like you to bear in mind that this is no complaint on the part of the Soviet Union. No, we are not complaining. The Soviet Union is strong enough to uphold the interests of its country unilaterally.

But we do raise this question before the General Assembly because the United States has proclaimed its right to act against international law. The United States Government says that such espionage flights, such aggressive incursions are essential for the security of its country. The United States is doing so, it claims, because it has the right to ensure its security, has the right to violate the boundaries of other countries, in disregard of international standards. In this way the United States wants to impose the rule of iniquity in international relations. This is why the question at hand has assumed special significance. I repeat, this is not a dispute between two states but the question of the rights of states to independence and sovereignty, a question of the obligation devolving upon every state to respect the independence and sovereignty of other states.

The aggressive flights of American planes have infringed upon the sovereignty not of our state alone but on that of a whole number of other states as well: they violated the neutrality of Afghanistan, violated the sovereignty of neutral Austria, have violated the sovereignty of Norway, Pakistan and Turkey. Is it not a fact that these states officially protested to the United States when they learned about the flight of an American spy plane? In their protests the governments of these countries declared that the United States had not consulted them, had not asked permission for making spy flights over their territories.

If such actions of the aggressors are not terminated fully and completely, if they are not condemned, the impression might be gained that the Assembly approves such actions on the part of the United States and thus in a way encourages it to further aggressive actions. It will thus gravely injure international law because in a way this will legalize the right of every state to use such methods. And this in turn may have the results that in defending its sovereignty every state will have to rely only on itself, on its own forces. But every reasonable person will understand that this might result in force being countered with force, and this in the final analysis means war. Every country might estimate the incursion of planes in its own way, regard it as a military attack and consequently reply to such an incursion with a retaliatory blow.

Whether troops are sent across the borders of another country or planes are dispatched with aggressive purposes, this constitutes

an armed invasion of one country by another and it is in this way that the aggressive invasions of the territory of the Soviet Union should be regarded.

If one side assumes responsibility for starting a war, the other side has the right to defend itself. It is compelled then to defend its sovereignty and repulse the enemy invasion, to strike in retaliation at the aggressor and at those bases from which the aggressor is making the invasion.

These are the aspects of the question to which I wanted to call your attention, esteemed Delegates! In connection with the discussion of the question of aggressive flights by American planes, I should like to express the following wish of the Soviet Government:

Any conflicts between nations, even bloody wars in the long run, end with the signing of a peace treaty. Fortunately, we have never been at war with the United States of America. The only exception is the aggression committed against us by the United States right after the October Revolution. Then the United States sent over its troops to our territory to assist the rotten, overthrown regime of landlords and capitalists. But these troops were ejected from our soil by the young Red Army of the Soviet Union. Since that time not only have there been no armed conflicts between us, but we even fought together in a most bloody war against Hitler Germany and won a victory in this joint struggle.

Even now we are doing everything possible and will continue to do so, not only to ensure peace between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the United States of America but also to ensure friendship between our peoples and our governments. We consider that this is quite possible if the other side too strives for the same end. The Soviet Union and the United States of America are a great distance away from each other. Both are rich and highly develop economically. Both countries have everything they need to continue developing, each in its own direction, in the directions chosen by the peoples of the Soviet Union and by the people of the United States of America.

We are aware of the fact that the discussion at the General Assembly on the question of aggressive actions perpetrated against the Soviet Union by the United States of America is used by certain circles to bring the cold war to a higher pitch. Therefore the Soviet

Government on its part would like to do everything it can to prevent a further increase of tension in Soviet-American relations.

If the Government of the United States of America were to declare at the General Assembly that it regrets the aggressive acts perpetrated against the Soviet Union and other countries, and were to give assurances that henceforth the Government of the United States will strictly observe the provisions of international law, respect the sovereignty of the Soviet Union and all other countries, we would regard such an assurance as recognition by the United States of America that it was wrong on this question and we would have received satisfaction. Thus it would be possible to draw the line and we would not insist on the discussion of the question. That would clear the atmosphere, reduce international tension, and make it possible to solve more quickly the questions on the agenda, specifically the question of disarmament.

If, however, the Government of the United States of America does not want to display good will, will not condemn the practice of dispatching its spy planes to the Soviet Union and other countries, the United Nations must with all severity condemn such aggressive actions, since this is a case of absolutely unprecedented action on the part of a major power against other countries, actions which are fraught with the most serious consequences to universal peace and the security of nations.

This policy of the United States must be condemned and cut short so that such provocative incidents may not place the world on the brink of war. American aggressive flights in fact even represent a step beyond this brink. That is why it is impermissible to relegate to the background the most acute questions of a deeply fundamental nature, on the solution of which the destiny of the world depends, while the rostrum of the General Assembly is used for chewing the hash concocted by the cold war exponents. This would be a real shame for the United Nations. The peoples who want peace to be strengthened and the international climate to become healthier will pass their stern judgment on what is going on in the United Nations and they will be right. The Soviet Government does not want this to happen. It wants the United Nations to justify the hopes of the peoples and come forward as a serious instrument of the strengthening of peace, as a loyal sentinel of the sovereign rights of states.

October 13, 1960

A Reply on the Question of Aggression

Speech at the UN General Assembly

Before speaking on the question of the aggressive actions of the USA, for which the Chairman has given me the floor, I should like to say a few words as a reply. I, too, am not deprived of that right, and I should like to make use of it. I want to say briefly and confirm the fact that the gentleman representing the Philippines is not a hopeless case; he does posses a rational kernel which may take root in his mind. He will come to understand things correctly and judge them correctly. But some time is probably needed for this. We have a saying, "Each vegetable ripens in its time." This gentleman is probably in the ripening stage right now. He will ripen, I think, and come to understand problems correctly.

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN:

I should like to avail myself of the right given to every delegate in order to reply to the speech by the representative of the United States of America.

The representative of the United States declared that he was going to defend the interests of the United Nations. He seems to believe that the United Nations and the United States of America are about the same thing, that this is a branch of the State Department! We see, however, that this branch is becoming independent.

The representative of the United States claimed that America had committed no aggression against the Soviet Union in the first years that followed the October Revolution. I must remind him of something. He must have forgotten the memoirs of General Graves, the commander of the American Army which landed in

Siberia. That general gave them a very original title. He must have understood, and correctly understood what he was doing.

He called the United States intervention "American Adventure in Siberia." He was in Siberia, and he was thrown out of there by the Red Army and Siberian guerillas. I must say the American general's book is true to the facts to some extent. Read it, Mr. Representative of the United States; perhaps it will be of use to you some day.

It is very useful to read sometimes! You see that what I am recommending to you is not Bolshevik propaganda literature, but the memoirs of your own American general.

Now another thing. The Security Council has twice passed resolutions claiming that the Soviet charges of United States acts of aggression against the Soviet Union are unfounded. This is just what the Security Council has decided, unfortunately. It is for this reason that we have brought the matter before the General Assembly. What else could we do?

What the American representatives are doing looks like the old story of the woman who pretended to be a virgin. But this virgin already has a child, and even two of them; and besides, she finds a way of giving birth twice within the space of two months: in May and then in July.

They keep claiming that the United States is a virgin in this case, and that she has no children. But we and the rest of the world know that there was a U-2 in May and an RB-47 in July.

What kind of Security Council do we have, if it fails to condemn an obvious and insolent act of aggression? It is a Security Council which no one will respect! It is, excuse my sharp language, more like a spittoon than a Security Council!

The Security Council must safeguard peace and prevent war! But look what the Security Council did when Secretary of State Herter and the United States President himself, indeed the whole of America and the entire world recognized that an American spy plane had been sent into the Soviet Union. The Security Council ruled that there had allegedly been no aggressive flights.

True, the first thing the United States did was to lie about the spy flight. But we knew whom we were dealing with. That is why, when the plane was shot down, the Soviet Government decided to make a vague statement so that the United States would not

find out where the plane was downed, what happened to the pilot, and would not know that we had material evidence at our disposal.

Then, we decided, the fish will swallow the bait. And our expectations were justified. The United States of America declared that the plane had not flown into the Soviet Union. The plane, don't you see, was on a weather observation mission. It flew over Turkey and the meteorological station was informed by the pilot that the oxygen equipment had failed and that the pilot had lost consciousness. Then, as the Americans reported, contact was broken off. Evidently, they said, the pilot came down over a lake in Turkey. We applauded these lies. You can imagine how satisfied we were when our opponents presented us with a vulnerable spot at which we could hit quite definitely.

We then declared that this was a lie, that the American spy plane had been shot down near Sverdlovsk and that the pilot, alive and in good health, was in our hands. We announced that we had the wreckage of the plane, the instruments, to put it in a nutshell—all the material evidence. What did the Americans say afterwards?

Herter then said: "Yes, we did fly. We fly over the Soviet Union because it has many military secrets and we must learn the location of Russian rockets in the interests of our security (you understand, in the interests of security!). That is why we sent the spy plane."

The President of the United States confirmed this, agreed to this. But this is a shocking state of affairs, unprecedented perfidy. How can one tolerate this?

The intruding plane also flew over the territory of Afghanistan, infringing her sovereignty, took off from the territory of Turkey, flew over the territory of Pakistan. The pilot was to fly to Norway and, in case of an emergency, to land in Finland. The United States did not ask for Finland's permission and Finland protested against this.

Gentlemen, you can imagine to what dangerous consequences this leads. Powers is merely a pilot who wanted to earn big wages and ended a big failure. I believe that he deeply repents his action. Everyone knows that he who serves the golden calf, serves the golden devil, will always end in failure! When Powers

was asked at the trial if he would have pressed the button had he flown with an atom bomb on board, he admitted: I was told to press the button at a certain site, and I pressed the button. And when he was asked again, would he have pressed the button knowing that the plane carried an atom bomb, he replied: yes, I would.

You can imagine what would have happened! The outbreak of war, or not even the outbreak of war but war itself!

Gentlemen, we are all adult and responsible people. Please understand that we are not raising this question in order to humiliate the United States of America. We do not want this and did not want it when we shot down the plane. You remember my statement in which I said that the President of the United States probably did not know of this flight. Though I sinned before my own conscience, I made this statement out of respect for the President to ease his position, to drag him out of the stinking pit into which he had landed. But he lost his self-control and said: I knew of the flight, I sanctioned it, this was in the interests of the United States, and in the interests of our security, and we shall continue such flights.

And what are we supposed to do? We shot down the plane; we shall shoot down such planes if they are sent to our territory and we shall hit at those bases from which aggressive planes are sent into our country. We have no other way out!

Underdeveloped countries, colonies, unfortunately cannot do this, they have no such possibilities. But we are able to defend our homeland, to defend the inviolability of our frontiers and to rebuff any aggressor!

Do you want war? Do you provoke war? But we are not afraid of any threats! If you start a war, we shall have no other choice but to hit back. Each country has the right to defend itself, to hit back if it is attacked. But we want the United Nations to denounce such actions and thus to denounce not only the flouting of the sovereign rights of our state but also the flouting of international law in general. The United States proclaimed spy flights over the territories of other states as its right, as its national policy. What are we to do? To surrender or to rebuff such flights?

If the United Nations General Assembly does not understand the full seriousness of the question and follows the same road as

the Security Council took, we shall not be able to respect such decisions, we shall be impelled to rely on our own strength. And you know that we have strength. We warn the Pentagon, we warn the American aggressors—let them not stage provocations, for we shall give them a vigorous rebuff.

The United States representative said here that the President of the United States had said in Paris that there would be no more flights. Gentlemen, pay attention to these words. It follows that we are given some mercy from heaven. He does not say there were any flights and he does not say there were no flights, he says there won't be any more flights. But, saying this, he admits that there were such flights.

What do we want? We want the President to say that the United States was wrong. We need the admission by the Government of the United States that it acted wrongly; we need an assurance that it will not do this in the future. But how are you acting Messrs. Americans? Today you say there won't be any more flights, yet yesterday you did fly and claimed that such flights were your right. Moreover, the President also said that he had cancelled the flights for his term of office in the White House. And this means that another President will be inaugurated and if the United States desires, the aggressive flights will be resumed.

The new President of the United States may declare that Eisenhower had cancelled the flights but that he is not obliged to honor the pledges given by his predecessor. Can one tolerate such arbitrariness?

It is also known that the President did not speak the truth. After his statement in Paris on the stopping of the flights, two months after the U-2 spy plane incident, a military RB-47 plane was sent into the Soviet Union. We shot it down. Before my journey here to the session of the General Assembly, we learned that the Americans wanted to send a new plane into our airspace at an altitude of 25,000 meters.

Then I told the United States Ambassador in Moscow that we had information about the preparations for that flight. The Ambassador was warned that we were prepared to meet this plane. I told him: if you want to check our anti-aircraft rocketry, to test our abilities to shoot down planes at an altitude of 25,000 meters

please go ahead. We have made preparations to demonstrate our capabilities.

The United States authorities cancelled the flight. But provocations are still continuing.

NATO military exercises were recently announced near the coast and frontiers of the Soviet Union on the Black Sea. I must say that when Marshall Malinovsky, the Minister of Defense, asked me what to do, I told him: you are the Minister of Defense, what do you suggest?

He replied: I suggest that we alert our Armed Forces, especially our rocketry, get everything ready for action and arm the rockets with warheads.

I told the Minister of Defense that he suggested reasonable measures because we did not know whether these were military exercises or preparations for war.

Thus, I am here in America while our defenses are in readiness for action.

What are the Americans doing? When I travelled to New York on the liner "Baltika," United States planes buzzed our ship. Furthermore, within two days of the journey to New York I saw a submarine following our ship. I think that wisdom is not needed to guess what kind of boat this was. The question might be asked: Did you identify her? I have good eyesight; I am a man who suffers from farsightedness. At first I looked through field glasses, then I put them aside and saw the submarine. I found it easy to identify her because we know this kind of weapon. We also have submarines and not bad submarines.

What was the purpose of this new provocation? Do you want to frighten us? But we are not easily frightened. Maybe you wanted to sink the ship in which I was travelling?

All right, I will go down to the bottom, but I shall drag you down also, be sure of this!

The RB-47 plane made a spy flight on July 1 and we shot it down. The United States representative in his speech here has asserted that the plane was shot down at a certain distance from our frontier. One should point out that the United States authorities cite different figures in this respect.

In this connection I recollect such an anecdote. One of the Russian generals fighting against Shamil took him prisoner. The

general sent the officer who had captured Shamil to the tsar to make a personal report. You probably know that some military men have a weakness for exaggerating their own merits. This also happened in this case. The officer began to exaggerate when he described to the tsar his exploit in capturing Shamil. He told how skillfully he had acted, how he had attacked personally. But the general, knowing the weakness of this officer, sent another officer with him and told the latter that if the first officer put on airs the second was to tug his uniform. So when the first officer lied too much, the second tugged at him. The first began lying still more and the second tugged at him again. The first resented this and said: why are you tugging at me all the time? You were not there, and I was!

Something similar happened with the American representative today: he wants to lie and says that this is no lie. But I can also tug at him and say: Mr. Representative of the United States, we brought down your RB-47 plane and it was brought down by our fighters over the territorial waters of the Soviet Union.

Now they want to arrange international arbitration, in other words, a court of arbitration. The Security Council discussed the question twice. And the Security Council, figuratively speaking, recognized as a virgin a woman who had two children. How can we accept such a court?

The defense of the sovereignty of our country is entrusted not to an international court but to our Armed Forces, to the Minister of Defense of the USSR. If an enemy intrudes into our territory, he must be smashed and thrown back. This is an instance of a court, the court of the peoples of the Soviet Union. There can be no other court for aggressors.

The representative of the United States said that Khrushchev was wrong when he declared that the U-2 incident was the reason for the collapse of the conference of the heads of the four powers. He said that even prior to the conference the newspaprs *Pravda* and *Izvestia* had come out sharply against the United States. He added that these were newspapers which did not express public opinion. Well, I should like to tell you that you are throwing stones even though you live in a glass house. In our country the press represents the people, while your press represents a handful of capitalists. He who has money in the United States can own

newspapers. If the editor writes contrary to the wishes of the monopolists, he is fired, sent to the devil. And the United States representative is well aware of this. I should like now to reply on the substance of the statement by the United States representative. Yes, our newspapers came out sharply, but not against the United States, they came out against the statements made by Mr. Dillon, Mr. Herter, and the Vice-President of the United States. I shall not name him in order not to intervene in the election campaign for United States President.

These United States statesmen made cynical speeches at the time. We rebuffed them. This happened even before the U-2 flights into the Soviet Union.

To make it still clearer to the Assembly delegates what statements I am referring to, I shall cite an appraisal of these statements by the United States President. When asked by a correspondent at a press conference whether he knew of these statements made by Dillon, Herter and the Vice-President, the President of the United States said that he was aware of them and fully subscribed to the content of those statements. Hence, this was not just the viewpoint of Dillon, Herter or the Vice President, this was already the policy of the President, of the Government of the United States.

Thus, the President of the United States, the Pentagon and the State Department prepared the wrecking of the Summit conference. Then they thought that this, perhaps, would not influence Khrushchev. And they decided: let us resort to a stronger means. They sent a spy plane against the Soviet Union as early as April 9. We tracked it, it flew over our territory but our anti-aircraft men did not shoot it down and those guilty were severely punished for it. Military men must always be on the alert, must always be vigilant. We told them that they would be punished more severely if they repeated this mistake. But the Americans understood this otherwise if the plane was not shot down on April 9, they thought, let us repeat this provocation.

They sent a second plane on May first. But this time our anti-aircraft men tried to make amends and brought down the plane. We thanked them for it and lifted the reprimand.

That is how things proceeded if one follows the chronology and the facts.

I might be criticized at the Pentagon, but I think that the President followed in the wake of the military men. He himself did not want to aggravate relations with us. Though his term of office was drawing to a close, I did not refuse to meet him. But I know that this meeting would not have produced big results. Yet I wanted to pay him his due as a man. . . .

(At this moment, Mr. James Wadsworth, the United States representative, interrupted to say that Khrushchev was insulting the President of the United States. The President of the Assembly ruled that this was not the case and asked Premier Khrushchev to continue.)

I was thinking that if it was ruled that I insulted the President, maybe I should change to pantomime. Maybe I should make a speech without words showing how the plane flies and then imitate the sound made in bringing the plane down.

I should like to tell the United States representative a little story. Two passengers were travelling in a train in Russia after the 1905 revolution. The passengers were engaged in a conversation. It was a third-class carriage, and other people were sitting opposite listening to the conversation between the two passengers. One said to the other:

"The tsar is a fool!"

A gendarme, sitting on the other side of the carriage, heard this, approached them and asked, "Who said that the tsar is a fool?"

The passenger replied, "I said it, Mr. Gendarme."

The gendarme showed his indignation. "How dare you say that our tsar is a fool!"

"Excuse me," replied the passenger, "I said that the German tsar is a fool."

The gendarme shouted, "I know my tsar—if anyone is a fool, it is our tsar!"

I do not want to add anything to this.

Esteemed delegates,

In my speech at the morning meeting I said that an end must be put to this matter, a good end. It is true, it is difficult to find a good end to a bad matter. But what is to be done? The virgin girl gave birth and the birth of the child hase been registered. Something must be done. The legitimate question arises—who is the father of the child, will he help to bring it up or not?

We should like to have the United States of America admit that it committed aggressive acts. Let them find a relevant wording, admit that an act has been committed which cannot be tolerated in peace time given normal relations between states, and let them give an assurance that there will be no repetition.

No further speeches would be needed if the United States representative got up and made such a statement. We would accept this and the incident would be closed.

But the United States insists on its right to such flights. Then we firmly insist on our right to demand the condemnation of such flights as aggression. This is not simply a question of disputes between states. A violation of international law is the issue here. If United States planes continue to intrude into our air space and we are impelled to shoot them down, the peoples will be awakened at some tragic hour by a thermonuclear war. Do you see the consequences of such a policy? That is why we so passionately come out against this cynical aggressive policy.

Fellow delegates, I do not insist on satisfaction for myself but for the peoples who resent such a perfidious policy and demand assurances that military provocations will be terminated. Only under such conditions can one take further measures to exclude war from the life of the peoples.

How can talks on disarmament be held at a time when one of the great powers arranges provocative flights over the territory of another great power? What is the value of such talks?

I do not want to boast of our weapons, nor do I want to belittle them. We are not in the same position as some other states that have no means of defense: we can do more than merely protest against aggression. We have the most powerful weapons to defend ourselves against aggression. If you recognize the right of the United States to make provocative flights, then recognize our right to the resolute condemnation of the aggressors. If you do not do this we shall exercise this right ourselves because it is the right of each state to defend its territory, its sovereignty.

Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed delegates, today I am departing for home. I sincerely rejoice, though my skin is not black, I rejoice together with those who were chained in the fetters of colonial slavery that we unanimously adopted the decision to discuss the abolition of the colonial system at a plenary meeting

of the General Assembly. I rejoice together with you, and all upright people on earth share our joy.

Today I should like to make a statement on the question of disarmament and to move relevant proposals. Here are our proposals, our position:

On Disarmament and on the Situation Created in Connection with the Fulfillment of the Resolution Passed by the General Assembly on November 20, 1959 on this Question

The General Assembly,

Realizing that under conditions in which modern weapons are unprecedented in destructive power and range of action, the continuing arms race is fraught with tremendous danger for the peoples of all countries;

Convinced that in the face of the danger of a nuclear-rocket war the problem of general and complete disarmament is the major problem of our times requiring an immediate solution;

Reaffirming the resolution of the Fourteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly #1378/14 of November 20, 1959, on general and complete disarmament;

Noting with regret that the aforesaid resolution has not yet been implemented and that no proper measures have yet been taken to implement it;

Once again urges the governments to exert all efforts towards a constructive solution of the problem of general and complete disarmament and recommends the early drafting and conclusion of a treaty on such disarmament on the basis of the following principles:

General and complete disarmament must include the disbandment of all armed forces, the liquidation of all armaments, the cessation of military production, the liquidation of all foreign bases on alien soil, the prohibition of nuclear, chemical, bacteriological and rocket weapons, the discontinuation of the manufacture of such weapons and the destruction of stocks and all means of delivery of such weapons, the liquidation of agencies and institutions designed to organize military affairs in states, the prohibition of military training, the discontinuation of military expenditures;

General and complete disarmament shall be effected in an agreed sequence, in stages and in a set period;

Disarmament measures, relating to nuclear weapons and conventional armaments, must be balanced in such a way that no state or group of states could obtain military superiority and that security should be equally safeguarded for all;

The measures envisaged by the program for general and complete disarmament shall be effected from beginning to end under international control whose volume shall accord with the volume and nature of the disarmament measures taken in each stage. An international control organization with the participation of all states shall be set up within the United Nations framework to effect control and inspection over disarmament;

In conditions of general and complete disarmament necessary measures shall be taken in conformity with the United Nations Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, including the obligation of states in case of need to make available to the Security Council units from among the police (militia) contingents preserved by the states for the maintenance of the internal order and the protection of the personal security of citizens;

In order to create confidence in the proper use being made of the international armed police (militia) forces and to preclude the possibility of their being used in the interests of one or another state or separate group of states,

Deems it necessary to change the structure of the United Nations Secretariat and the Security Council in order to give equal representation to all three groups of states in these agencies: the socialist countries, the countries belonging to the Western power blocs and the neutralist countries,

Forwards to the Disarmament Committee for consideration the Soviet Government's proposal on "The Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament" and other proposals on this question for drafting a treaty on general and complete disarmament, including a system of international control and inspection, ensuring strict compliance with the treaty.

We are ready to make no more speeches. Our proposals, our position are clear, let us discuss them point by point. Let us work out a decision which would satisfy all concerned on the question

of disarmament, but under one condition—let us disarm and not agitate for control over armaments. We shall not take part in working out a system of control over armaments without disarmament.

(*Mr. Wadsworth of the United States interrupted to state that the head of the Soviet delegation was not speaking on the substance of the question. The President of the Assembly overruled him and asked Premier Khrushchev to proceed.*)

Gentlemen,

Such are our specific proposals. But if the essence of the proposals which we set forth, is not adopted in the First Committee or if it becomes evident that the Western powers are resorting to subterfuge, we shall not work in the First Committee when the disarmament problem is discussed. Under such conditions we shall work neither in a Committee of ten nor in a Committee of fifteen.

If the Western Powers display good will, we shall readily study and make use of all submitted proposals in order to work out a solution which would be directed towards safeguarding general and complete disarmament under strictest international control. (*The representative of the United Kingdom interrupted here to say that the head of the Soviet delegation was speaking on a question which had nothing to do with the subject under discussion. The President explained that he saw no reason to interrupt Premier Khrushchev because the head of the Soviet delegation had advised him that he would like to make a statement on disarmament before his departure from New York. The President added that the speech by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR was apparently drawing to a close.*)

You, Mr. President, were right in saying that if this gentleman had not interrupted me, I would already have ended my speech.

I should like to draw your attention, gentlemen, to the way these merchants trading in blood and human life raise the question. They are mainly worried over the formal aspect of the matter and it does not perturb them that the threat of a disastrous thermonuclear war hangs over mankind. They are shameless, that is what they are!

Mankind will remember your names, Messrs. imperialists. By the way, mankind cannot make them pay; for if a war breaks out,

they will undoubtedly cease to exist, because Britain, which is often called in the West an unsinkable aircraft carrier will cease to exist the first day of the war. One need only visualize the meaning of nuclear war to know that it is imperative to do everything possible to avert war.

But the gentleman who represents the United Kingdom here evidently fails to understand this problem. Let us believe that life will teach, if not you, then another representative. You will be replaced and other men will come who will understand the necessity of safeguarding an enduring peace and disarmament because peace can be safeguarded only when there is disarmament. There can be no durable peace if armaments are preserved, if there is only control over armaments, because in such conditions each country can, if it wants to, make use of its armaments in spite of any control. I think that this is clear to everyone.

I should like to hold your attention for a little while in order to dwell once again on the question of the United Nations Secretary-General. Gentlemen, speaking personally about Mr. Hammarskjold, I am not fighting him. I have met him and we had a very courteous conversation.

I think that Mr. Hammarskjold owes me a debt because he exploited me when we entertained him on the Black Sea Coast. I took him rowing and he did not work off the debt, did not repay me in kind.

This is not a personal issue. The point is that I am a Communist and he represents big capital. It is immaterial what capital he actually has in his pocket because, as you know, it is often easier to come to terms with a capitalist than with his lackey. Mr. Hammarskjold represents the interests of a definite group of states and does this successfully as shown by his actions in the Congo. He operated there in the interests of those who set him this task. They will thank him for this as they can thank those who work for the colonialists.

But imagine that we reach agreement on disarmament and set up international armed forces. How can we tolerate that these armed forces should be under the control of one man representing the interests of a group of imperialist states? No, this is impermissible. Understand me rightly, I do not ask for privileges for our socialist countries. But I do not want to see privileges for a

group of states of the imperialist camp, the camp of big monopoly capital because they use the United Nations Secretariat in their own interests. They used it againt the Congo. They might seek to use it against us. It can be used against the Congo because this young state has no strength. It cannot be used against us because we have strength.

The neutralist countries are a very considerable group of states as regards the size of their population. They are now economically weak, but human beings are human beings and their value is not determined by how many millions of dollars they own, but by the fact that they are human beings. Above all, one must respect their human dignity.

That is why all three groups of states must be represented in the United Nations agencies on an equal footing and with equal standing. Only then will there be any certainty that disarmament and the forming of international armed forces will be possible, with the certainty that these international forces will not be used against any single state or group of states.

Gentlemen, you can qualify my statement as you please, but I honestly tried to set forth our position. We are willing to sit down at a table for specific talks but only on condition that a proposal in the direction I mentioned be adopted.

I beg you not to be offended if I said anything in not quite the way I should have. I hurt the Philippine representative a little; he hurt me. He is a militant man. I am a young parliamentarian; he is an old hand. Let us learn from each other.

The Nepalese representative also taught us a good lesson in parliamentary conduct. True, I do not know whether Nepal has a Parliament or not. Upon my return home I shall look up a reference book to see how matters are there with Parliament.

I wish you, gentlemen, big success—and we can achieve successes. This is borne out by the unanimously adopted decision on the colonial question. We Soviet people would sincerely rejoice if successes were achieved on such vital questions confronting the United Nations as the strengthening of peace and the creation of an atmosphere of friendship among the peoples.

Thank you for your attention. Good-by, gentlemen.

October 13, 1960

Departure from New York

Today I, Comrade Gromyko, Foreign Minister of the Soviet Union, and other comrades are returning home. The Soviet Union will be represented at the General Assembly by Comrade Zorin.

We are leaving in a good mood because we consider that some glimmer of hope appeared that it would be possible to solve major international problems through the United Nations, through the meetings of the General Assembly. We are most satisfied with the decision taken on the problem of abolition of colonialism.

We are happy on two scores: first, because such a decision has been adopted. It can be said, of cource, that only a procedural decision has been taken concerning the place where this question will be discussed. But this decision has been taken by all delegations unanimously and this should be taken to mean that the General Assembly as a whole considers that colonial rule must be abolished.

Secondly, we are happy because it is the Soviet Union with the support of all socialist countries that sponsored this resolution. And we have been supported by all peace-loving countries. Under public pressure the colonialists had to retreat and to join all the other delegations when the General Assembly was adopting this decision.

I should like to stress that this is not only a great victory for the peoples which are fighting for their independence. It is a great victory for all the peoples of the world. Had all delegates displayed an equal will and determination during the discussion of disarmament, had they realized the full danger of the present situation, the danger of an outbreak of a nuclear-missile war, the General Assembly could have taken an important step toward universal and complete disarmament.

It is the Asian and African countries that I have mainly in mind, because the position of the countries which belong to the

military, aggressive NATO, SEATO and CENTO blocs is perfectly clear. They are against disarmament and want only control over armaments, and this of course is not disarmament under strict international control, for which we are persistently working.

We trust that the time will come when the peoples of all countries will thoroughly realize and understand the need to fight vigorously for disarmament, will demonstrate their will, and then disarmament will become a fact. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it is ready to do everything in its power to achieve universal and complete disarmament and we shall greet such a decision wholeheartedly.

They accuse us of propaganda. But is the fact that we have submitted concrete practical disarmament proposals and are prepared to destroy armaments on the condition that the other side does likewise—is that fact propaganda?.

We are ready to discuss this question in a businesslike manner so as to ensure concrete decisions which would put an end to the arms race and create all the necessary conditions for a tranquil life for all people now and in the future.

We are sincerely striving to eliminate wars among states completely.

On leaving New York I should like to touch once more on a question of great importance which was raised by the Soviet Delegation at the General Assembly, the question concerning the imperative need for changing the structure of the executive bodies of the United Nations.

The events in the Congo demonstrated the complete bankruptcy of the present structure of the United Nations. And not only bankruptcy, I should say, but literally the threatening situation which has arisen as a result of the fact that at the present time the executive bodies of the United Nations, primarily the first place the Secretariat, are dominated by representatives of imperialist states.

The United Nations must really be an international instrument in which each state and each group of states have equal status, because at the present time three groups of states have distinctly emerged in the world—the socialist, the imperialist, and the neutralist groups. No one of these should have any advantages in the United Nations to the detriment of the other two.

The Soviet Union will not accept disarmament so long as there is no confidence that the international armed forces, the formation of which is envisaged in the solution of the question of disarmament, are in reliable hands and will not be used to the detriment of any state or group of states.

We demand no advantages for ourselves but we shall never resign ourselves to advantages for other groups of states.

In conclusion I should like to thank sincerely the residents of New York for their understanding and for their friendly attitude toward members of our delegation and myself. During this time I received many letters and telegrams from Americans. In these letters and telegrams, as well as during personal meetings, Americans assured me of their friendly attitude toward our people and toward our country, and I sincerely reciprocate their feelings.

Of course there were some ill-wishers, the so-called picketers, who are mercenaries. But I realize perfectly well that this riff-raff does not represent the American people.

I trust that the cold relations between our countries, engendered by the reckless actions of the authorities of the United States of America who have sent two planes over the Soviet Union, will be outlived. The time will come when the peoples and the governments of our countries will live not only at peace but also in friendship.

We have worked and will continue working toward this end and we expect corresponding reciprocal steps on the part of the Government of the United States of America.

As to the friendly feelings of American people, their concern for peace, we have never doubted this and do not doubt this now.

We wholeheartedly believe in peace on earth, in the friendship of all peoples of the world, and we constantly fight for it.

October 20, 1960

Speech on Return to Moscow

DEAR COMRADE MUSCOVITES!

Dear Comrades and Friends, listening to the radio in other towns and villages of our great homeland!

I should like to share with you the impressions of our participation in the work of the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly and, in conformity with established tradition, give an account of the work done there.

If the question is asked whether it was worthwhile to travel to New York to this session, it can be said without any reservations—it was not only worthwhile but necessary to go there. It is now acknowledged throughout the world that the current session of the General Assembly is of exceptional importance.

The Soviet Government deemed it necessary that the most pressing, vitally important problems of our time should be discussed at the session. We considered that the most responsible statesmen should attend the United Nations General Assembly. The Government of the United States and its allies sought to discredit this idea, but as you know nothing came of it.

Our position has received the warmest support in all the socialist countries, met with broad response and understanding on the part of the governments of many countries of the world. In order not to become isolated, the President of the United States, the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Canada and some others of their allies were impelled, as the saying goes, to change horses in midstream and to rush to the session.

As world public opinion rightly points out, the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly has been the most representative international meeting ever held in modern history. The heads of state, the heads of government and leading statesmen from more than thirty countries of the world met there.

Many highly important international problems have been submitted for consideration at this session. The delegation of the Soviet Union proposed that such urgent matters should be discussed as the question of general and complete disarmament, the abolition of colonialism and the granting of independence to all peoples and countries, the aggressive actions by the United States of America against other states, and the necessity of changing the structure of the executive bodies of the United Nations. The agenda also includes such questions as the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the Algerian issue, and many others.

The attendance at the session of delegations of the socialist countries headed by the leaders of those countries and also the attendance of the heads of state and heads of government of many other member states of the United Nations produced considerable results.

Delegates seated in the spacious hall of the General Assembly listened with great attention and interest to the speeches made by many outstanding statesmen of our time. A strong impression was made by the speeches delivered by the heads of the delegations of the countries of the socialist camp: the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Antonin Novotny; the head of the Polish delegation, Comrade Wladyslaw Gomulka; the head of the Roumanian delegation, Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej; the head of the Hungarian delegation, Comrade Janos Kadar; the head of the Bulgarian delegation, Comrade Zhivkov; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania, Comrade Mehmet Shehu.

The session was also addressed by the leaders of the delegation of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Comrade Podgorny, and of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Comrade Mazurov.

The speeches made by the leaders of the delegations of the socialist countries resounded like the voice of a new, just world bringing to the peoples happiness and prosperity on earth. At the same time their speeches were a severe condemnation of imperialism and colonialism which cling to everything outlived and doomed by history, and create a threat to the peace and the security of the peoples.

A big contribution to the struggle for peace and for the abolition of the colonial system detested by the peoples was made in the speeches of the President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah; the President of Guinea, Sekou Touré; the President of Indonesia, Sukarno; the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru; the President of the United Arab Republic, Gamal Abdel Nasser; the head of the state of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk; and other representatives of independent states. A strong impression was made by the vivid speech delivered by Fidel Castro, the heroic son of the Cuban people and Prime Minister of Cuba. Many constructive proposals were also made in the speeches of other statesmen.

The representatives of the imperialist countries, the defenders of colonialism, sought in every way to uphold and defend their position, often overtly, but even more often covertly. And, as you already know, battles flared up quite frequently at the session which this international organization has not known since its inception.

Our journey was also useful because we had many meetings in which we exchanged opinions with statesmen from various countries on a whole series of vitally important international problems. All this promotes better mutual understanding and the establishment of closer relations among states.

During the long years of existence of the United Nations much has been accumulated in it which needs resolute revision and adjustment in conformance with the present deployment of forces in the world. It can be said that the principal line in the proceedings of the first stage of the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly was the struggle between the new, the progressive, and the old, the obsolete, which is retarding the development and growth of the new.

Permit me, dear comrades, now to dwell in some greater detail on the principal factors of the present international situation and the activity of our delegation to the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly.

I. Changes in the World Since the Inception of the United Nations

Comrades,

The Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly is regarded by many people as a special session. This is quite justified. The

session summed up some results of what had been done in the United Nations since its foundation.

It was rightly pointed out at the session that great political and social changes have taken place in the world in the past fifteen years. These changes, above all, lie in the growth of the powerful camp of the socialist countries. Now more than a billion people live and work under the banner of socialism. The emergence of the world socialist system is of decisive importance for the development of all mankind, for its destiny.

After World War II at the time when the United Nations was being set up, the capitalist system was still dominant in the world, the colonial system was still firmly entrenched. Big social changes have taken place in the fifteen postwar years. A number of socialist states have emerged in Europe and Asia. Not only have they emerged, but they have rapidly gained in strength, have upheld their revolutionary achievements, and have demonstrated their superiority over the capitalist system in the advance of the economy and the well-being of the mass of the people, in the progress of science and culture.

It is precisely the socialist countries that are taking the lead in the pace of expansion of production, in the exploration of outer space, in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

We Communists were charged with being ravishers; with being able to organize people only in order to seize power; with trampling underfoot personal freedom; with being unable to create and organize the work of industry and agriculture. Our enemies tried to prove that we would not advance science and culture. They said that the Revolution only destroys but does not create. Where are these gentlemen now, where are these armchair prophets? They have their tails between their legs; they are silent! What else can they do but keep silent!

Now it is clear to the whole world that genuine freedom, a fast pace of development of the national economy, the advance of culture are there where the people triumph, where the new in the organization of society prevails—that means where socialism triumphs. Under conditions of socialism a free people are building a new life on the foundation of the teachings created by the great thinkers of mankind—Marx, Engels, and Lenin. The fruits of

these teachings can now be seen by everyone, except, perhaps, the politically blind.

The colonial world also sustained tremendous changes during this period. Colonial empires are tumbling down. It can even be said that the colonial empires tumbled down and their fragments are now cracking. India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and other countries in Asia cast off the colonial yoke. The exceptionally tempestuous process of the liberation of the peoples of Africa is now taking place. The long-suffering peoples of Africa are at last acquiring human rights.

All these great changes taking place in the world cannot be ignored. When the United Nations was founded after World War II, the political map of the world was different, and this map determined the structure of this international organization.

During those years the United States of America dominated the entire world. That country was the richest and economically the strongest. Evidently this also predetermined the fact that the headquarters of the United Nations were set up in the United States of America. Geographically, this creates very great inconvenience, all aside from the fact that the order existing in the United States does not facilitate the location there of such an international organization. If a headquarters for the United Nations were to be selected now, the peoples of Africa, the Africans, would hardly agree to its location in a country where Negroes are not regarded as human beings, where savage discrimination, even lynching, is visited upon them.

All these and many other factors of international affairs bear out the fact that a reappraisal of values, a new approach to the solution of highly important world problems is now required.

When the United Nations was founded, it was rightly envisaged that its main purpose was to safeguard peace, to settle those issues which create tension and can lead to the outbreak of a third world war. The emphasis was laid on creating a body which could cope with difficulties and conflicts arising among states. With this object in view the Security Council was set up.

The Security Council, very rightly at that time, was made up of eleven members, five of them being permanent members. It was laid down that the United States of America, the Soviet Union,

China, the United Kingdom and France would be the permanent members of the Security Council.

I should like to emphasize that it was precisely these five states, each of which was regarded as a Great Power at the time, that entered the Security Council in the capacity of permanent members. The wisdom of the political leaders of that time who were the sponsors of the United Nations was that they recognized equal rights for each Great Power belonging to the Security Council though the socialist countries were in an absolute minority in the world at that time.

The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic were the only socialist countries at that time. But the same rights were recognized for the Soviet Union, the socialist state, as for the other permanent members of the Security Council. A recognition of this equality found expression in the fact that the United Nations Charter laid down the principle of unanimity of the Great Powers, the right to the veto. No one, even if it were a question of four states against one, could take any cardinal decisions prejudicing the world, prejudicing any of the five Great Powers.

In short, it was the capitalist countries that were predominant in the world in those days. But the founders of the United Nations were right in believing that the United Nations would be able to cope with the tasks it was charged with only if the majority—and it was the capitalist countries and colonialist powers that were then in the majority—did not use their position against the minority. Only under that condition could the United Nations exist, progress and fulfill the role for which it was established.

What, then, was the political map of the world at the time the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly opened? This picture, I repeat, is widely different from what it was when the United Nations came into being.

To begin with, as I said before, there arose a world socialist system embracing the countries with more than one-third of the world's population. The socialist nations have enormous economic potential. They are producing even today more than one-third of the world's total output and nearly half of the world output of some key items of industrial and agricultural production.

To continue. Upon the ruins of the colonial system there emerged many independent nations which are pursuing a policy

of keeping out of the war blocs and alignments. These are India, Indonesia, Burma, the United Arab Republic, the republics of Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria and others.

The position of the former great colony-owning imperialist powers has also changed essentially. By what right can Britain be considered a great nation today, while India cannot be considered a great nation? Why? In the old days, the one who had a big stick was considered great. It is Britain that used to be the major colonialist power at one time. She brought other nations into submission by force of arms and ruled them by brandishing her stick. She seized all but half of the world, and that was the measure of her power. Today the situation is different. Since the end of World War II Britain has had to rest content with less than she had before. And that she still retains and oppresses some colonial countries through force and violence means a decline, and not an upsurge, in her power.

Her soldiers still march the way they did in the Victorian era, and some in Britain do not want to realize that times are different from what they were then. Britain has long since ceased to be the workshop of the world and the mistress of the seas.

France, another imperialist and colonialist power, has built up her might in the same way, that is, by conquering and ruthlessly enslaving the Africans and the peoples of Asia. This great power has been at war with Algeria for more than six years and has so far failed to show her greatness by stopping her piratic policy. Times have changed. Today the peoples are fighting a life and death struggle for freedom against their oppressors, the colonialists, and are waging a successful struggle to defend their human rights.

Why, then, is France regarded as a great nation, but Indonesia is not? Why have India and Indonesia been put in a position different from that of Britain and France at the United Nations, and why, for instance, are they not permanent members of the Security Council?

Or take the United States of America. She is still the mightiest capitalist power. But whereas in the old days the United States had a force of attraction, as the land of ascendant monopoly capital and as one which has a democratic, bourgeois constitution, she has since forfeited this position. Today the United States is a reac-

tionary state dominated by monopoly capital, a state which is pursuing an imperialistic policy, which is bound up with, and is the leader of, the colonialists.

Everything in the United States is reduced to a state of submission to capital and militarism, although a semblance of democracy is still kept up. Monopoly capital is in possession of everything: the means and implements of production, such powerful ideological vehicles as the press, publishing houses, television, radio and the movies, all of which are being used to break the will of the people and to fool the mass of the people.

In the past the United States had an economy and power that were in sharp contrast to those of the rest of the world. It is separated from Europe and Asia by the oceans, and those were its insurmountable barriers during the wars that raged in Europe and Asia. The United States experienced no horrors of war, no famine, no ruin. Today the oceans are no longer an unassailable natural fortress of the United States. The United States is forfeiting its exceptional economic position, too.

The Soviet Union and all the socialist countries have scored sweeping achievements in their economic development. We have surpassed the United States in a number of sciences, in the field of education, culture and art, let alone the superiority of the political and social system which have been won by the peoples of the socialist nations.

The United States has long since lost the power of attraction she had before. On the contrary, there are some factors in operation today which make the United States repugnant to other peoples and states. This is an essential change. This has not yet been grasped in full by the Americans themselves. One may say that it has not as yet been grasped by many people in the world, but they feel it, although they have not drawn conclusions from the changed situation. This is why the United States of America is no longer as great a nation in the world arena as it used to be, although it is still economically and militarily the strongest capitalist country in the world.

China, at the time the United Nations was created, was broken up and was little thought of. The reason why the countries of monopoly capital seated it on the Security Council must have been to tie China to the capitalist world so as to prevent her from

being infected with socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideas. The imperialist powers wanted to keep the Great Chinese Wall intact for monopoly capital to use as a bastion, separating the world of socialism from the world of capitalism.

But the Chinese people decided to live as they saw fit. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, won a great victory in their heroic struggle for liberation. The Chinese people effectively used the favorable situation which arose from World War II when the fascist forces had been routed in Europe and militarist Japan was defeated. The Chinese National Liberation Army had a rear on which it could rely. It smashed the army of Chiang Kai-shek who had by then gone over altogether to the side of the United States of America, the side of imperialism.

Since China has become a People's China, Chinese in the true sense of the word, and since her government genuinely reflects the will and aspirations of the people, the monopolists and imperialist powers do not recognize her. The imperialists do not recognize a Chinese China, but do recognize as China the island of Taiwan occupied by the United States. People's China has not even been admitted to the United Nations, and she is not occupying her rightful seat there.

Why does this happen? Has China disappeared? No, she has not! China does exist! Is she not as great as she was? Yes, China has become great indeed today, economically and politically a more powerful nation. China is not recognized because she has become a socialist nation. The fear caused by the emergence of a socialist China knocked all common sense out of the imperialists, and they began to deny the existence of the Chinese China.

Well, we know what this means from our own history. Indeed, for a long time the most hard-shelled imperialists treated the Soviet Union as no more than a geographic entity instead of as a great nation. The United States of America did not recognize the Soviet Union for sixteen years. So, I repeat, we know what this means.

True, even some bourgeois statesmen have lately realized the senselessness of the United States policy with respect to China and deplored it. From year to year it becomes more and more difficult for the United States to uphold its policy of nonrecognition of People's China. At every session of the General Assembly the

mechanical majority is whittled down and the policy of this mechanical majority in relation to China is laid bare.

This policy will evidently fall through altogether before long. If God does not punish the government leaders of the United States and deprive them of their reason, the best thing for them would be to come out for the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations and for the expulsion of Chiang Kai-shek's puppet government. Will the United States statesmen be able to use the gift of God or not? Let us not try to guess. It remains to be seen! But if they should fail to act sensibly, they will have to swallow, in the near future, the most bitter pill for their policy with respect to People's China.

People's China, India, Indonesia, Japan, Burma and other Asian states are playing an increasing role in world affairs and world politics.

Vast changes have taken place in Africa, too, over the past few years. There were as few as three independent states in Africa when the United Nations was established. The entire territory of that continent was divided among the colonialists who had oppressed the African peoples for decades. The Africa of today is an entirely different place. There are twenty-six independent nations on that continent today which have a population of more than 180 million. A very significant point is that the independence of the overwhelming majority of these countries—sixteen out of the twenty-six—was proclaimed in this year of 1960.

The delegates of the young African states said at the United Nations General Assembly that 1960 is the year of Africa. The whole of Africa is in the flames of a national liberation movement. Yet more than twenty countries and trust territories on the African continent are still under colonial rule. These countries have a population of more than 50 million. The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries are fighting against foreign oppression and they will win their independence, beyond all doubt.

These are some aspects of the social and political map of the world fifteen years after the establishment of the United Nations.

The imperialist powers—the states of monopoly capital—which form part of the war blocs of the Western Powers want to rely on their armed strength in order to perpetuate the predominant position in the United Nations which they had at the moment the

United Nations was founded. They want to retain this predominance at any cost, although history has, in fact, deprived them of these rights and, I would say—and this is the main thing—deprived them of such opportunities. The erstwhile economic superiority which once enabled the imperialist powers to bring pressure to bear on many nations of the world is being lost. The imperialist powers have likewise lost the former military superiority on which they relied in carrying through their "policy of strength."

Yet the ruling circles of the imperialist powers are still nursing the illusion of retaining their erstwhile supremacy.

It is quite natural and logical, therefore, that the delegation of the Soviet Union should have told the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly that the structure of the United Nations is outdated. This structure corresponded to the relationship of forces and to the role and importance of the states as they were at the time the United Nations was established, that is, in 1945. But it is entirely out of keeping with the present situation. It has become necessary to modify the United Nations structure in keeping with the new relationship of forces of the three major groups of nations in the world—socialist, imperialist and neutralist. This point has been supported and appreciated by many delegates at the current session.

We have not made any specific proposals as yet, but we have put forward some points of principle with regard to this question.

The reason we have raised the question of changing the structure of the United Nations executive authority is not because we want to have some privileges in the United Nations. Our position —the position of the socialist countries—is generally known today, and no sensible person can deny the importance of the lands of socialism in the United Nations.

The United Nations itself cannot exist without the socialist countries. Why? Some may say that the socialist nations are in the minority today. But it is silly to judge the importance of this or that group of states in the United Nations by the number of countries these groups include. Unless one-third of the world's population, which is in possession of half the world's entire power, is represented in the United Nations, the United Nations will indeed become meaningless as a world organization.

The triumphs of socialism have the power of attraction even for those who do not recognize our system but who can no longer shrug it off and ignore its sweeping progress. To ignore this is to be like a blind man, who says there is no light and no sun and that what the others say about light and the sun are no more than fairy tales.

We consider that the United Nations should be improved as an international instrument created in order to prevent a new world war. The first thing to do toward this is to revert to the ideas and principles which were laid down at the time the United Nations and its Security Council were established, that is, to recognize the principle of equal terms for all nations and, above all, for those on which depends the decision whether there will be a new world war or not.

While only five countries—the United States of America, the Soviet Union, China, Britain and France—were listed as Great Powers at the time the United Nations emerged, today the list of these great nations is quite naturally much bigger. One cannot, of course, fail to include India and Indonesia in this list while including Britain and France, not to speak of the restoration of the rights of People's China.

The imperialist colonial powers, which are pursuing their own self-seeking group interests, have managed to spoil something of what was done when the United Nations was established. They have started acting in contravention of the United Nations Charter.

The charter provided that the Security Council was to solve the most important problems by applying the rule of unanimity of the five Great Powers, the permanent members of the Security Council. Whenever the representatives of the Western Powers failed to steam-roller any resolution of theirs, they bypassed the Council by bringing those issues directly before the General Assembly session.

Thus, the Security Council's supreme principle of unanimity, laid down in order to ensure peace, is being violated by them. They have bypassed this principle and want to get such issues settled by a mechanical majority or a two-thirds majority at the General Assembly in the hope that the voting machine will do this job for them. But this is no way out of the situation. All they are

doing is opening a valve through which there can break out a conflict that could bring mankind to the disaster of global war.

This situation increases the danger that the United Nations itself might push the world to the brink of war or indeed into the very cauldron of war. It is necessary strictly to observe the United Nations Charter with regard to the principle of Great Power unanimity in settling the most complicated international problems in the Security Council.

But this is only one side of the matter. Account should also be taken of the altered conditions in the world, the new balance of forces in the world arena. The representation of five Great Powers as permanent members of the Security Council is already clearly insufficient.

Consequently, the organizational structure of the United Nations must now be so arranged that the three groups of states—socialist, imperialist and neutralist—are on an equal footing in solving international problems on which the issue of peace or war largely depends.

Those who insist on the old, who wish to preserve the old and do not recognize the new, do not understand that the old does not lead to the strengthening of peace. This old way is fraught with a great danger of war. Those who do not take account of the interests of all three groups of states and wish to exploit the international organization in the interests of one group—namely, the group of states of monopoly, imperialist capital—are not guided by the interests of strengthening peace.

That is why the structure of the United Nations should be altered and its executive organs made to fit the requirements of life, the principle of equal representation of all three groups of states. Otherwise it will not be a United, but rather a disunited, Nations.

I have spoken of altering the structure of the Security Council. This, of course, fully applies to the executive organs of the United Nations, to its Secretary-General. No one man, however brilliant, can objectively express the interests of three groups of states simultaneously.

It is quite natural that since the United Nations is now dominated by the United States of America and its allies—Britain, France and other countries of monopoly capital—which pursue

an imperialist, colonialist policy, they nominate their candidates to the principal United Nations posts. Whose candidate is the present United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjold? It is clear to all that he is the candidate of the United States of America. The Swedes say that he is a representative of Sweden. True, he is a Swede by birth, but he is representative of the monopoly capital of the United States of America in his political views, and he serves the United States.

Let the Swedes not be offended by this. We too have our own Hammarskjold in the United States—Kerensky. He is Russian by birth, but whom does he serve? He serves American imperialist capital, and the Russian people have been getting along rather well without him for many years now.

Of course each group of states would like to have its own candidate hold the post of Secretary-General. That is natural but unrealistic. Each group of states wishing to introduce its representative into the United Nations executive wants to dominate, but our stand is that there should be no domination by any one group of states in the United Nations executive, the Secretariat.

Consequently, the most radical and just solution of the question of both the United Nations Secretariat and the Security Council would be to apply the principle of equal rights, equal opportunities, equal representation. The United Nations Secretariat must consist of three secretaries.

Objections may be raised that it will then be extremely difficult to settle various questions. But it is difficult to settle questions in the parliament of a single country too, especially in the parliaments of bourgeois countries, inasmuch as antagonistic classes exist there and each class has its own party and its own representatives. The ruling classes pursue their own policy, that of suppressing the other classes. In so doing they rely on capital, and capital is a great force. It seemingly does not vote, but it bribes; and its voice is therefore reflected by representatives of other classes it has bought over. But this happens within a state.

To apply such a parliamentary system to an international organization is altogether untenable. The United Nations embraces about one hundred states, and three systems of states stand out sharply in the world today. To start suppressing this or that group would be to take to the road of employing force, the road

of preparing for war. And it is not to wage wars that the United Nations organization has been set up. It was established as an instrument for ensuring peace.

To ensure enduring peace it is necessary that the interests of no group of states are violated, that international problems are settled with due respect for the interests of all three groups of states. Only then can peace be ensured.

If a one-sided policy is followed in the United Nations, in the Security Council, the Assembly and the executive, if the interests of all three groups of states are not observed, the United Nations will be committing suicide. Its decisions in such cases will not be respected by all states. In such a case no group of states can oblige other states to carry out the adopted decisions. Such a situation can carry international tension to an extreme, and the conflagration of a world war might flare up from even an accidental spark.

The Second World War left the German question still unsettled. Large and small countries take part in the United Nations, but the German people do not. Italy has been admitted to the United Nations, as has Japan, formerly a militaristic state. Even Spain and Portugal, which are fascist states, have been admitted. Why, then, are not the German people represented in the United Nations? Because there is no peace treaty with Germany. The imperialist states are artificially putting off the conclusion of a peace treaty. Thereby they try not to recognize the German Democratic Republic (GDR). But this is a foolish policy, because the German Democratic Republic has existed and developed for eleven years now. It is necessary to put an end to this state of affairs and conclude a peace treaty with Germany. It is necessary to solve this question, to put on record the conditions and changes that have been brought about by the war, so that the German people may be represented on an equal footing in the United Nations.

I repeat, the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany is of great importance for the relaxation of international tension. Preserving the state of war with Germany does nothing but poison the atmosphere, because all questions to be settled in signing a peace treaty have already won *de facto* recognition.

It is now apparently necessary to put on record the existing state of affairs—the existence of two German states and the inviolability of the frontiers established after World War II.

No sober-minded politician expects anyone to give way or give up the gains of socialism in the GDR. Nor does anyone think that West Germany will give up its political and social system either. Therefore it is necessary to give *de facto* recognition to what has already taken shape and to record this in an appropriate treaty.

With regard to West Berlin, too, we have time and again submitted a reasonable solution.

The German question is now being used for political aims; it is being exploited in some states in the course of election campaigns.

A presidential election is now approaching in the United States of America. The German question is an abiding feature of the election campaign; will the situation in Germany change or not, that is, will a peace treaty be signed with the two German states or will the present state of affairs continue? This subject crops up continuously in election debates. The aggressive circles insisting on the preservation of this hotbed of war are trying to exploit the German question in their policy "from positions of strength." But it is dangerous to try force in a situation like this.

West Germany, too, is making use of the question of a peace treaty with Germany. And here is what happens. For example, it is said that in 1960 it is impossible to raise the question and reach agreement on the German problem because the presidential election in the United States is an obstacle to this. It is hinted to us: pay no attention to the talk about the German question during the election campaign. After the elections, on the other hand, it will be possible to reach agreement.

But there will be an election in West Germany in 1961. There too the aggressive circles, the representatives of monopoly capital, exploit the German question, and there too some leaders hint that Chancellor Adenauer cannot be expected to abandon his point of view, because if he does, Brandt will win the elections. Have patience, therefore, till the elections are over, and conditions may then arise for a more realistic approach to the solution of the German question.

So the extremely important question of a peace treaty with Germany which requires solution and which is fraught with grave military dangers if abandoned, is continuously being put off.

This question must be settled. And apparently it must be settled in 1961.

Common sense must prevail. It is necessary to sign a peace treaty, and the climate in Europe will then be entirely different.

The steps undertaken by West Germany against the GDR—its violation of trade agreements, etc.—tend to aggravate the situation, because the German Democratic Republic, too, can take corresponding steps; and all this, taken together, does not promise to improve the relations between states. It is necessary, therefore, as we agreed with the Western Powers after the United States wrecked the Paris meeting, that no steps should be taken that would lead to an aggravation of relations. We proposed a summit meeting after the presidential election in the United States in order to undertake fresh efforts to settle the issues in dispute, to reach agreement on the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states, and the solution on this basis of the question of West Berlin as a free city.

We abide by these positions. And if another policy is forced on us, the responsibility for this will rest with the imperialist powers of the West.

II. General and Complete Disarmament—the Way to Enduring Peace

Comrades, the Soviet Union has declared repeatedly that the question of disarmament is the hub of all the vital international issues of our time.

Mankind has endeavored for many generations to solve the problem of ridding the world of destructive wars, the arms race, and the competition in perfecting the weapons of annihilation.

In the past such hopes were foredoomed to failure. In conditions of undivided sway by the exploiting classes, with the society rent apart by irreconcilable class contradictions which imperialism had carried to the extreme, with more than half of mankind under the colonial yoke, continuous wars among states for a redivision of the world were a constant feature of the life of society.

Before the emergence of socialism all attempts to get rid of war were pious illusions, dreams. And sometimes they also served to delude people. It may be recalled, for example, how the bourgeoisie asserted during the First World War that it should be won by the *Entente* powers so that there would be no more war. We

know, however, that the First World War was followed by many others; and finally the fascists, with the connivance of the imperialists of the United States, Britain and France, started an even more destructive Second World War.

Now that science has discovered weapons of unheard-of destructive potential, any new world war would bring mankind untold calamity and suffering. We are convinced that mankind will not perish in the event of a new war. It will merely cast off, finally and resolutely, the rotten capitalist system that breeds war. The question arises, however: need the victory of the new be achieved at such a terrible cost? Must the establishment of a new system on the ruins of the old be paid for by the blood of hundreds of millions of people? Is there no other way?

All people of reason understand the necessity for creating conditions which would preclude the possibility of the outbreak of war waged for the sake of the enrichment of some countries at the expense of others. The Marxists-Leninists see such a possibility.

We Marxists-Leninists are fully aware of the complexity of the questions of war and peace. Wars appeared simultaneously with the division of society into classes. The danger of war and the grounds for it will be finally and irrevocably eliminated with the abolition of the division of society into the rich and the poor, into the haves and the have-nots, into the exploiters and the exploited, with the establishment of a social system which will not be based on the bestial bourgeois principle that man is a wolf toward man.

Such a world will have nothing in common with the world of capitalism governed by the law under which the stronger robs and exploits the weaker. In the countries of imperialism those who have capital have everything, while the common people—who work and create all the material and spiritual values but have no capital and are deprived of the means of production—are subjected to exploitation and discrimination.

The ruling quarters of the United States describe the so-called American way of life as a model for the "free world." But what kind of freedom is that? It is freedom to exploit, freedom to rob, freedom to die of starvation when there are surpluses, freedom to be unemployed when production capacities stand idle. Freedom in the United States is a freedom for monopoly capital to oppress

the working people, to bamboozle people with the bipartisan system, to impose its will on their partners in military blocs. Such a society provides the basis for wars between countries because the tendency toward reaction inside the country and toward expansion and aggression outside is characteristic of monopoly capital, of imperialism.

To preserve peace under the conditions of the undivided domination of imperialism would be impossible. But the situation changed with the emergence of a new social system, socialism, which is taking the place of capitalism. The socialist system is a more progressive one; it establishes new laws governing the relations between people, new laws governing the relations between nations and states. Our conviction is that all mankind shall accept socialism, communism, a harmonious society which will know no antagonistic classes and will be based on the most humanistic principle: man is a brother and a friend to man.

After the victory of the working class and working peasantry, there will be neither social, national nor any other causes for the outbreak of war in any country. But this will be only under the complete domination of the socialist, communist system throughout the world. Mankind will then represent a true commonwealth of equal nations.

This was said long ago and scientifically proved by the founders of Marxism-Leninism.

The liquidation of the capitalist system is the crucial question of the development of society. But only adventurists can think that a change in the social system can be brought about by unleashing war between states. Social revolutions are not for export. They cannot be carried by bayonets or rockets. Just as we cannot even think of anyone imposing on us his own way of life, one alien to us, in the same way we have no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries, because each nation has an inalienable right to its own way of life.

The settlement of the question, what social conditions one chooses to live under, depends on the nations themselves, on the internal development and the ripening of conditions in every separate country. Which system is to exist in one or another country—socialism or capitalism—is not a question of international relations, nor is it a matter to be discussed at such an international forum as the United Nations, where countries with different social systems are represented. This is a matter to be settled by the peoples themselves inside each state.

It is necessary to take into account the real state of affairs, the world as it is. The present world consists of the countries of socialism, the countries of capitalism affiliated to the military blocs of the United States, and the countries not affiliated with any military blocs and following a neutral policy.

Consequently we must search for such solutions of the cardinal international problems as would take into consideration the conditions now obtaining—the simultaneous existence of opposing social systems in different states—and, in such a situation, would create conditions which would rule out the possibility of another world war. Nuclear war would cause the unprecedented destruction of cities, factories and plants. It would lead to the annihilation of hundreds upon hundreds of millions of people. It would destroy the values created by the labor of many generations and would affect all the countries, all the peoples. Its consequences would have grave effects on the life of generations to come.

We would be committing a crime against present and future generations were we to put up with such an unenviable lot and not try to ward off the menace of a world war. It would also be unpardonable because socialism has given the working class, all the working people such strength, such possibilities for defense as we were unable even to dream of before the emergence of the socialist states.

Such is our position on questions of war and peace.

It would be naive to think that the capitalist countries would agree to disarmament if they were stronger than socialism. The situation now is such that the world system of socialism is at least no weaker than the countries aligned by the United States in such aggressive military blocs as NATO, SEATO and CENTO. The socialist countries now possess hitherto unheard-of means of influencing the capitalist countries and, if you will, even compelling them to accept a disarmament agreement.

Considering the movement for national liberation, the might of the popular movement for disarmament and peace in all countries, and also the existence of peace-minded people among certain sections of the bourgeoisie, the chances for disarmament are fa-

vored not only by our material capabilities for meeting any attack on the socialist countries with a shattering rebuff, but also by the support given to our struggle for peace and the termination of the arms race by all the peoples of the world.

That is why the Soviet Government relies upon concrete political, economic and moral factors in submitting its proposals for general and complete disarmament. World war can be averted if all the peoples fight hard for peace, for general and complete disarmament, for the destruction of the means of waging war under strictest international control.

Is all this possible? It is. No one denies that it is a difficult thing, but war—if it does break out—will be even harder for the peoples. That is why the question now is: should we Communists retreat in the face of these difficulties and consequently follow in the wake of those imperialist forces which stand for the continuation of the arms race—and if it is continued the result will be war—or should we, without sparing our strength, create a dam, a barrier to such a course of events? We are against fatalism, against inactivity on questions of war and peace. We should not underrate, but more especially we should not overrate, the capabilities of those imperialist forces which stand for the preparation of war.

As long as imperialist states exist, as long as they are ruled by monopoly capital with its inherent drive for aggression, for imperialist war, there will exist a danger of a new war. But this is precisely the force that we can and must counter with a still greater force—the preparedness of the peoples to avert war, their determination to resolutely curb any imperialist aggression.

There is such a force against imperialism—this force is the socialist countries, which are guided in their policy not only by the interests of the peoples of their own countries but also by the interests of the peoples of all countries, of all toilers. And these forces rely not only on socialist humanism. They rely on their socialist economy and they have mighty armed forces to defend the state interests of the socialist countries.

Our strength lies in the fact that the interests of the socialist countries coincide with the interests of the toilers of all countries, including the working people of the capitalist countries. The toilers in the capitalist countries take the position of struggling for peace and peaceful coexistence. To all this we should add the

continually increasing number of new states which have freed themselves from colonial oppression and which, as a rule, adopt a policy of nonalignment, that is, the road of a peaceful policy, thus destroying the former hinterland and reserves of imperialism. And although the imperialist states are trying to use the neutralist policy of a number of countries for their own purposes, and although the neutralist countries sometimes echo them in their chorus, this is a temporary thing.

There can be no neutrality on matters of war and peace, because all the peoples want peace and therefore all the peoples must fight for peace, against the threat of a new war. The process of demarcation of the forces of peace and the forces of war will accelerate and develop. And this process will increase the forces which stand for peace.

The peoples of the noncommitted countries face a historic choice. The imperialist camp is attempting to involve them in the arms race, to place the manpower and material resources of these countries at the service of war. Imperialism does not offer them anything for doing away with the economic backwardness they have inherited from the colonial past. Imperialism does not desist from attempts to interfere in their internal affairs with a view to imposing a new colonial yoke upon them.

The socialist community of peoples offers the young states a different path—the path of nonparticipation in the arms race, of developing their economy and culture, of tolerating no interference in their internal affairs.

Need one say what the choice of the peoples will be? No doubt they will choose the path of peace and freedom, and not the path of war and of new enslavement. And this choice immeasurably increases the forces which stand for peace. As a result of the growth of socialism and the forces of peace, the balance of forces in the international scene is not in imperialism's favor.

At present it would be wrong to gauge the demarcation and balance of forces of socialism and peace and of imperialism by applying the parliamentary yardstick. It is not the number of states ranged on this side and the other—on the side of socialism and on the side of imperialism—that determine the balance of forces in the final count.

Many factors must be taken into account in assessing the bal-

ance of forces: the economic and military potential, the population, and many other factors of a material and moral nature. In this case plain arithmetic may be gravely misleading.

The arithmetical yardstick does not provide a clear enough idea even of the balance of forces within a state which has antagonistic classes. It is well known, for instance, that it is not the number of parliament seats that determine the actual balance of forces of parties and classes in any particular capitalist country.

The constitutions and election systems in bourgeois countries are drafted in such a way as to give numerous privileges to the ruling exploiting classes and not to the exploited, the working classes. This is exemplified by France where the Communist Party won 3,888,204 votes and 10 seats in the latest parliamentary elections, whereas a right-wing bourgeois party like the Union in Defense of the New Republic, with 3,608,958 votes, won 188 seats. Just compare 10 seats with 188. I would say such a parliamentary method is of no use for determining more or less correctly the balance of forces within any particular bourgeois state.

What then is the basis of power in bourgeois countries? Why is it that proletarian parties, while they have enormous support among the masses, frequently do not have a corresponding number of representatives in the parliament? Simply because the bourgeoisie resorts to various election machinations, leans for support on the forces of suppression—the police, the army, the judiciary, legislation which serves monopoly capital. These are the mainstays of the power of the bourgeoisie. It is based on the fact that the ruling classes own the means of production, the means of ideological propaganda, and the means for suppressing democracy and the revolutionary progressive movement. And this is exactly the dictatorship of monopoly capital.

If such parliamentary methods are used to determine the balance of forces between the socialist and the imperialist countries, the figures can easily be misleading and the picture they give incorrect. How then can one explain the fact that the young socialist state born in the October Revolution, which was the only one in the world, weak and shaky, was able to uphold its right to existence? Is it not a fact that our country was attacked at that time by fourteen states? Our land was ravaged by the troops of the United States of America, France, Britain, Germany, Japan

and other states. The young Soviet state crushed these forces and ejected them.

We must always remember Lenin's advice; politics is not arithmetic. The Soviet Union at that time leaned for support not only on its internal forces, on the working class and toiling peasantry, but also on the international support of the working class and the progressive segments of society in the bourgeois countries. That is how it was even forty-three years ago.

Now the situation is entirely different. The Soviet Union has grown into a tremendous force. Our economy is flourishing. We have a mighty and well-equipped industry capable of producing the most modern means of defense in the required amount. We have an efficient state apparatus. We have a great army of highly skilled engineers, technicians and scientists capable of solving any problems. We have a first-rate, modern army equipped with rockets and nuclear weapons. All the world is aware of the great progress attained by Soviet science and engineering.

Furthermore, we are not alone. In Europe and Asia there are other countries which have embarked on the road of socialism and are successfully developing along this road. These new socialist countries have already made great progress both in developing their statehood, in the construction of socialism, and in building up their armed forces.

I have already said that more than a third of the countries which adopted a neutralist position represent the former hinterland of imperialism, the suppliers of manpower and raw material resources. Imperialism has lost these reserves and will not be able to return them to the colonial past.

All these conditions should be taken into account in determining the balance of forces, and it will then become clear that the forces of peace are not weaker now, but stronger, than the forces of war. This we should clearly realize in order to estimate our forces in a realistic way, so as not to underrate our own possibilities in defending the policy of peace.

Now, as before, the Soviet Union stands on the position of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems. But we are not begging for this peaceful coexistence. We are offering such a policy on the basis of a sober appraisal of the present balance of forces in the world.

All the peoples will come to socialism, to communism. Such is the law of society's development. Some might say that if our forces are not smaller but even larger than those of our enemies, why should we not decide the issue by war? Why not accelerate the course of history? But history is not a horse, it cannot be driven with a whip.

When bourgeois politicians say that the Soviet Union needs peaceful coexistence only as a temporary measure, that we Communists are only biding our time to touch off a war and thus change the political and social system in other countries, we say: you are lying. Marxism-Leninism asserts that the question of the balance of forces between this or that class is decided in every state by class struggle. And when the revolutionary proletarian forces increase, the proletariat decides the question of political power and social system as it sees fit, that is, in the interests of the proletariat, in the interests of the revolutionary class, in this or that way in accordance with the concrete conditions existing there and the methods used against it by the old ruling classes.

Should we admit the legitimacy of war between socialist and capitalist countries for solving internal political and social problems, it would be playing into the hands of the enemies of socialism. The enemies of socialism would use this against Marxist-Leninist teachings, against the socialist countries. Then they would be able to say: you see what kind of a progressive system, what kind of progressive teaching this is, if it must be imposed on the peoples by force.

Socialism is strong in its vitality, in the fact that it answers the deepest interests of the mass of the people. This has been proven by the entire practice of the building of socialism and communism.

The ideas of socialism do not need violence to be spread among the masses. This is a truth known even to school children, but one which our enemies, the enemies of communism, are continually trying to distort.

What could better attract sympathy for socialism than the example of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries! It is universally known what a backward country tsarist Russia was. And it is universally known how far our country has advanced and how mighty it has become in the years of socialist development. Our once backward country has become a mighty, highly

developed socialist power. Socialism has created conditions for the development of the economy, for the flourishing of culture and science that are unthinkable under the conditions of capitalism. Even our enemies admit this.

The force of example is a great force. The better our affairs are run and the higher the living standard in the socialist countries, the more quickly we shall win people's minds over to socialism. And this is a power which cannot be measured by arithmetic.

Returning to the question of the capabilities which the socialist countries possess for averting a new war, we should say that this important question is not decided by the number of countries which stand for peace and the number of countries which belong to the military blocs of the Western Powers. It is well known that at the present time the number of capitalist countries vastly exceeds the number of socialist countries. And if we proceed from an arithmetical estimate, this might only mislead us politically.

The present balance of forces enables us to raise the question and press for the practical solution of the disarmament problem. The idea of general and complete disarmament represents a powerful weapon for rallying the people to the struggle for preserving peace and averting a new war. That is why it is the duty of every person and every nation to uphold this idea, to fight for it, to fight for peace.

The Soviet Government has worked out in detail its position on disarmament and has presented it to the United Nations. These proposals have been forwarded to all countries in writing. The objective of these proposals, as I have already said in New York, is to prepare the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

Our idea is that at as early a point as the first stage of disarmament all means of delivery of nuclear weapons to targets must be destroyed, along with the elimination of military bases on foreign soil, the liquidation of military aviation, etc. We also suggest the banning of nuclear weapons, and the discontinuation of their production and testing, and the destruction of all stocks of nuclear weapons. In short, we stand for genuine disarmament under international control.

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, said in New York something to the effect that disarmament talks might take five or

ten years. But the arms race continues. Today three, or even four states have nuclear weapons. And how many will there be in five or ten years? Many countries will have such weapons.

We are against procrastination* on such a major problem as disarmament, and we shall not agree to take part in deceiving the peoples with endless talks. Though Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, is a Scotsman, I do not want to hurt his feelings by speaking of *volynka.* To a Scotsman *volynka* is the Russian for his national musical instrument, but I speak of *volynka* in the sense of procrastination on major problems. Our proposals are quite realistic. We insist on talks that would yield useful results and we are against talks that only befuddle and deceive the people.

Some people in the West say that the Soviet Union has submitted its proposals to the Assembly for propaganda purposes. We are not afraid of such charges. We are not issuing a call to war; we are demanding the creation of conditions for durable peace. And we shall continue to conduct such propaganda. It is not detrimental to the people. But if the Western Powers are afraid of propaganda in favor of peace, we are ready to forego speech-making.

Here are our comprehensive disarmament proposals. Let the Western Powers present theirs. Let us get around a table and discuss point by point, in a businesslike manner, what is acceptable and what is not.

I want to add that the responsibility for ensuring peace and, therefore, for reaching agreement on disarmament and the destruction of weapons cannot be vested only in the countries which possess nuclear weapons. This is wrong and dangerous.

There are no peoples indifferent to the solution of the disarmament problem. If any industrially underdeveloped countries which do not possess strong enough armies are excluded from doing their part in the solution of the disarmament problem, they will, as a result, not diminish but rather increase the danger of bringing on themselves, on the peoples of their countries and on all the world the military calamities of an unparalleled nuclear war.

*Khrushchev used the Russian word "Volynka" which has a double meaning: either procrastination or bagpipe. (Ed.)

Every people, large or small, every state, strong or weak, must now display the same interest and the same persistence in the struggle for the solution of the problem of disarmament and the destruction of weapons as they are displaying in their struggle for freedom and independence.

The other day the Prime Minister of Britain, Mr. Macmillan, spoke at the Conservative Party Conference. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that he had gone to the General Assembly, "to this remarkable meeting," to quote his words, which was attended by representatives from nearly a hundred states. He admitted that humanity now was facing the choice of adopting either the path of violence or the path of negotiations for the solution of outstanding issues.

Mr. Macmillan favors negotiations on outstanding issues for the purpose of reducing tension.

The Soviet Government agrees with that position and we have repeatedly argued that the policy of peaceful coexistence is not a tactical device but the general line of the Soviet Union in foreign policy bequeathed to us by the great Lenin. This was our position in the past and this will be our position in the future!

But if Mr. Macmillan's statement about the striving to reduce tension is not to remain merely a pious wish, concrete, practical deeds are in order on the part of the Western Powers. Mr. Macmillan admits that the question of disarmament discussion is not being resolved in deeds. An enlightening admission.

If the position of the British Government, as Mr. Macmillan has said, really is that it wants disarmament and control simultaneously, so that there may be disarmament and control at every stage, that is acceptable to us.

The Soviet Government, now as before, stands for real disarmament and has proven this by deeds, by effecting repeated unilateral cuts in its Armed Forces. If Britain and her allies—the United States, France and others—similarly display a real desire to disarm, the main and most important obstacle to agreement on disarmament will be removed and the road to disarmament will be open.

Mr. Macmillan, if everything you have said was designed to solve the disarmament problem, let us, at long last, proceed to

practical deeds and let us not delay indefinitely the solution of this most burning question.

If this is your own opinion and the opinion of your allies, let us then have your amendments to our proposals or your own comprehensive proposals, if you do not like ours only for the reason that they have been advanced by the Soviet Union. Copyright is unimportant to us; what is important to us is to reach agreement on disarmament which would relieve mankind of the danger of a catastrophic world war. The main thing for us is disarmament, and not who was the first to advance this or that proposal on this question. Before leaving New York I made a special statement on disarmament at the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly. Our proposals have been published in the press and are known to the public.

We have also presented to the United Nations a draft of "The Basic Provisions of a Treaty on General and Complete Disarmament" which also contains provisions on a strict and detailed system of international control and inspection to ensure the observance of the treaty terms.

In the West they like the expression "showdown." To us disarmament is not a gamble. But if they want it that way, we shall put down our cards face up.

It is now up to the Western Powers to act. True, these powers submitted new proposals to the Assembly after our departure from New York. One of them, submitted by the United States, Britain and Italy, contains, as conceived by its authors, the principles of the solution of the disarmament problem. Another, submitted by Britain, provides for the establishment of a committee of experts to study—what would you think?—the question of control! Macmillan as orator calls for a concrete approach to the discussion of disarmament problems. Yet in fact there is no such concrete approach. How can one understand such people? But life will teach them a lesson; it will also teach a lesson to Mr. Macmillan and other gentlemen like him. We can wait. We told him, "If you gentlemen want to test the might and endurance of the socialist state once again, we shall—as the saying goes—give you what for. Today we are strong and tomorrow we shall be still stronger and you gentlemen will not live long enough to rejoice at our weakness. We Soviet workers and peasants and our scientists, from day

to day, from year to year, will give you cause for disappointment in connection with the growth and strengthening of the forces of socialism, the growth of the forces of communism.

This has been a slight deviation from the prepared text of my speech, but I think it will be useful to those who do not want to heed the voice of reason today. As if the fifteen years which have been spent on discussing the questions of disarmament, including that of control, were not enough!

Both these proposals show that the Western Powers are still not ready to approach in a serious way the solution of the questions of disarmament, that they continue to make use of the talks on disarmament—including those at the current session of the Assembly—to cover up the policy of the arms race. Judge for yourselves, how else can one assess the aforesaid proposal concerning the principles of disarmament if it does not say a word about the liquidation of military bases on foreign territories, if it does not say a word about when, during what period this or that disarmament measure should be carried out? In essence it is a proposal envisaging control over armaments, which was urged by President Eisenhower in the General Assembly, and not disarmament under control, which the Soviet Union has been insisting upon for many years.

The aforesaid Western proposals are an ill omen for the future.

If the Western Powers refuse to adopt the path of general and complete disarmament, we shall be entitled to the conclusion that they are not ready to disarm now, but do not want to say so openly to their peoples because the peoples of the West—the peoples of the United States, Britain, all the peoples of the world—want disarmament. The Soviet Union will continue to fight steadily and persistently for disarmament, for the strengthening of peace and the security of the peoples. I repeat, we stand for real disarmament, and everyone who stands for this will find they speak a common language with us.

The peoples place great hopes in the United Nations, they want it to settle outstanding international problems and bring about conditions under which world peace would be reliably ensured.

But I must say that if things go on as they are now, the United Nations will not achieve substantial results. The cart of the United Nations has cut a deep rut; it is rambling along this rut, and it is hard for it to get out of it.

But had you seen the manner in which many delegates speak and behave at the General Assembly, you would have reached the conclusion that the United Nations may not justify the hopes the peoples are placing in it.

Often the Hall is almost empty. The places reserved for delegations of a number of countries are occupied by delegates "on duty." Actually, they do not take part in the work of the Assembly, but sit there, apparently, only to vote in case a vote is taken. Such a representative "on duty" is like a robot or an automatic machine tool which operates according to a given program. He does not need to think, he does not need to exert himself; only one thing is required of him: to vote "yes" or "no" on some particular question. It is impossible to influence the thinking of such a person; he acts strictly in conformance with instructions previously received.

This convinces us even more of the justice of our appeal to the heads of government of the United Nations member states urging them to approach with all seriousness the vital international problems which face the world—the question of the abolition of the colonial regime, of the restoration of China's lawful rights, of the aggressive actions of the United States, and other questions, above all, the overriding international question—disarmament—upon the solution of which the guarantee of world peace depends in the first place.

It goes without saying that all these questions cannot be solved during one General Assembly session. Therefore if we are really striving to ensure durable peace, it is essential that the participation of heads of state or heads of government should become routine in the work of the General Assembly.

As I have already said in New York, apparently the disarmament problem will not be solved at this session of the Assembly. Therefore we consider that it is essential to hold an extraordinary session especially on this question. It seems to us that such a session could be convened next March-April. If the heads of state or government which will take part in the work of the session solve

in principle the question of general and complete disarmament under strict international control, after that, apparently, additional work will be needed in a narrower sphere. For instance, heads of state or government could give direction to the work of a fifteen-nation committee whose establishment we have suggested.

But I repeat, the questions of principle, the main questions of disarmament cannot be solved without the participation of the heads of government or state, because the mistrust among states has become too great and the differences in the approach of governments to the solution of this problem are too great. We must display a sober and daring approach, display statesmanship in order to send the cart of the United Nations on the right path. Who can do this? This can be done only by those invested with the full trust of their people, of their government.

III. Freedom and Independence for Colonial Peoples!

Comrades, the Soviet Union with utmost determination has raised before the Fifteenth Session of the United Nations General Assembly the question of complete and immediate abolition of colonialism—the abominable legacy of barbarism and savagery of past ages. True to its policy of supporting the struggle of oppressed peoples for national independence, the Soviet Union has called upon the United Nations to raise its voice in defense of the just cause of the liberation of the colonies.

Many delegations in the United Nations have welcomed and approved the declaration of independence for colonial countries and peoples, and it has been warmly supported by all freedom-loving peoples.

The colonial powers and their allies in aggressive military blocs stop at nothing to prevent the peoples of the colonies from attaining independence and freedom. Therefore the discussion on granting of independence to colonial countries at the United Nations General Assembly session is marked by a tense struggle.

The freedom-loving peoples have scored a great success. The General Assembly recognized as a most important problem the question of the abolition of colonialism raised by the Soviet Union and has included it in the agenda of the plenary session of the Assembly. The recognition of the importance of this question

represents a great moral satisfaction to the Soviet Union, a great victory for the forces fighting against colonialism.

The situation at the General Assembly was such that even the imperialist colonialist states had to agree to a discussion of this question at plenary sessions of the Assembly. I shall admit that before going to New York, when our government discussed the problems of the General Assembly session, we envisaged the possibility of the United States voting together with the Soviet Union for discussion of this question at plenary sessions of the Assembly.

When the General Assembly considered the agenda, the British delegate was the first to oppose the Soviet proposal. He attempted to prove that the colonies' progress and their liberation were well nigh the sole concern of the colonialists.

The British delegate all but raised his hands to heaven, invoking as a witness the Lord, who, so to speak, blessed the colonialists for their "civilizing" mission in the colonial countries. But who does not know that this activity was expressed in the enslavement of peoples, in the extermination of the indigenous population?

The blood in one's veins curdles when one reads about the kind of civilization the colonialists brought to the colonies. Within half a century of Belgian domination the population in the Congo was reduced almost by half. People perished from punitive expeditions, from hunger and disease, and the Congo was no exception. In the sixty years of French rule the population of Madagascar diminished by more than half. The infant mortality rate in the colonies is terrific. In Nigeria, for instance, more than half the children die before they reach the age of six. The colonies have the longest working hours, the lowest wages, the shortest life expectancy, the highest death rate.

And all this is taking place in our century, a century of progress and the greatest scientific discoveries, when people have split the atom, are successfully conquering outer space and expanding their power over the forces of nature with extraordinary speed. Meanwhile representatives of powers which claim first place in the development of culture boast of their "civilization," speak of some "charitable deeds" of the colonialists. Listening to such "benefactors," one begins to expect them to ask the Assembly to

express gratitude for their "civilizing," that is, colonialist policy of slavery.

But the representatives of the peoples who have freed themselves from colonial slavery spoke differently. The General Assembly session was addressed by representatives of India, Indonesia, Ghana, Guinea, Ceylon, Liberia, Morocco, Nigeria and many other countries who unanimously demanded that this question be discussed at plenary meetings of the Assembly and stressed the necessity of abolishing the colonial system.

The representatives of the United States kept silent as though they were absent. But it was impossible to keep silent all the time; they had either to vote for the Soviet Union's proposal that this question be discussed at a plenary meeting of the General Assembly or come out in support of their allies—the colonialists. Of course, the United States imperialists are actually colonialists themselves; they impose enslaving treaties and exploit peoples of many countries. This policy is well known to the peoples of Latin America and of other countries.

During the heated debate on this question nearly all the speakers were in favor of the Soviet proposal, and at last the American representative took the floor. I am very sorry that he did not complete his speech. The United States representative made slanderous attacks on the socialist countries which caused vigorous protest by the latter. The Roumanian representative, Comrade Mezincescu, ascended the platform and gave the American a worthy rebuff. He demanded that the President of the Assembly Boland should not permit such insults. A rather curious scene followed.

The President overshot the mark, he did not expect his main instrument—the gavel—to break, and he rapped it on the desk with such force that it broke into pieces. After the President lost this token of power, he made haste to declare the meeting closed.

It is to be regretted that the meeting was closed. I believe that the representative of the United States would have completed his speech by supporting the colonialist powers. However, the night passed and it was apparently spent in meditation as a result of which the Americans arrived at the conclusion that the lesser evil should be chosen. It became clear that to come out with direct and open support of the British, Spanish, Portuguese and French

colonialists would mean self-exposure. Therefore, the Americans decided to feign a noble gesture and come out in support of the proposal of the Soviet Union and the countries fighting against the colonial system. The British representative, who took the floor for the second time, also had to pretend that he was meeting halfway those who were insisting on the discussion of this question at a plenary meeting.

The unanimous decision on the discussion of this issue at plenary meetings of the General Assembly is a major victory of the forces fighting for the eradication of the colonial regime.

But I would like to warn you: it would be naive to accept the voting by the imperialist powers at its face value. It can be said that the unanimous vote was wrested from the colonialists under the pressure of an overwhelming majority. The representatives of the imperialist states decided to vote in favor of having this issue discussed at the plenary meetings, but this does not yet settle the essence of the matter. On the essence of the matter there has never been and never will be any unity with the colonialists.

We stand for complete and immediate liquidation of the disgraceful colonial system, for condemning colonialism past and present, for preventing the colonial system from appearing in any form anywhere in the future.

The imperialists are trying to lend the colonialist policy "a noble aspect." They are even not averse to speaking about rendering assistance to the countries that have freed themselves from colonial oppression. But what kind of "assistance" is that? Take, for instance, the speech made by the President of the United States at the session of the General Assembly. It contained no constructive proposals. The President declared that the United States was prepared to allocate to the United Nations program 100 million dollars for assistance to the African countries that have gained independence. But if this sum were divided among all the population of the African countries which have gained independence, it would be 55 cents per person. As they say, this would not take you very far. In America 55 cents would not even buy you two packs of cigarettes.

The imperialists used to plunder, and want to continue plundering, the African countries and now they are offering mere handouts. A dollar taken, a cent returned. They are offering handouts in the same way as the *kulak** used to give five kopecks at Christmas to his laborer whom he had mercilessly exploited all through the year; or as a capitalist used, once in a while, to give a bucket of vodka for a whole *artel.*†

The imperialists may even pay lip service to the necessity of liberating colonial peoples, but they most probably will suggest a plan to protract the granting of freedom and independence to the peoples of colonial countries for many years. They will plead that no cadres are available, that the people have not been educated, have not been prepared for self-government, and put forth other "theories" of the slave merchants.

Listen to what a fine reply was given to these inventions of the colonialists by a representative of a young African state. He said: "If you want to be convinced that a man can walk, break the chains that bind him!"

All the nations which truly adhere to the position of denouncing colonialism and liberating colonial peoples must firmly press for the complete and immediate discontinuation of colonial slavery. It is necessary to lift one's voice against the colonialists, expose their designs, no matter in what disguise they appear.

It is natural that the oppressed peoples are intensifying their struggle for liberation, because the colonialists oppose the granting of independence to the colonial peoples. And they shall win their freedom! There is no doubt that the freedom-loving peoples will offer their helpful hand to those who are fighting against the colonialists, the stranglers of the peoples' freedom. Nothing can avert the collapse of the colonial regime doomed by history. Colonialism is breathing its last, the peoples of the colonies shall be free!

Comrades, the Algerian question is an important component of the problem of abolishing the colonial system, but it will be discussed at the General Assembly as a separate item on the agenda.

For more than six years the Algerian people have been waging an heroic war for their liberation from foreign oppression. The French colonialists are trying with sword and fire to suppress the

*A *kulak* was a well-to-do peasant who employed others to work his land.
†An *artel,* in nineteenth-century Russia, was an association of independent laborers who worked collectively and divided their profits.

Algerians striving for freedom and independence. But they have not broken and are unable to break the will of the people who have risen to struggle for their liberty. The noble struggle of the sons and daughters of the Algerian people is enjoying steadily increasing international recognition and support. In France proper a movement of true French patriots, who are actively opposing the colonial war in Algeria, is gathering momentum.

The Algerian question has more than once been taken up by sessions of the General Assembly, but each time the colonialists succeeded in reducing these discussions to insignificant resolutions which did not render real assistance to the Algerian people. The French colonialists, supported by their allies, the United States and Britain in the first place, emerged victorious, so to speak, from the discussion of this issue. This time the struggle at the General Assembly will be much more vehement and the colonialists will find it more difficult to reduce the matter to another toothless resolution.

What is the Soviet Union's position on the Algerian question? It is absolutely clear. We have always been in favor of the self-determination of all peoples, in favor of every people choosing the social and political structure of its state. This fully applies to Algeria, too.

We have repeatedly expressed our views on this question to the French representatives. I recall the talks with former Prime Minister of France Guy Mollet and Minister of Foreign Affairs Pineau during their stay in the Soviet Union in May of 1956. We said then to the French leaders: if you do not take into consideration the lessons of Vietnam, you will undoubtedly find no way out of the deadlock in which you find yourself in Algeria. The only way out for you is to recognize the Algerian people's right to self-determination. It is only on this basis that the Algerian question can be settled.

Guy Mollet, and also Pineau, tried to prove that France cannot give up Algeria because two million Frenchmen live there. Thus, according to their logic, this gives sufficient grounds for believing that Algeria must be French. We then replied to the leaders of the French Government: you speak of the two million Frenchmen in Algeria (and actually they number less), but the nine million Algerians cannot be ignored.

We tried to make our interlocutors see this problem in the correct light. Guy Mollet and Pineau claimed that the loss of Algeria would mean the loss of France's grandeur. We tried to prove to them that the grandeur of France does not lie in colonial plunder, not in the oppression of other peoples. But apparently the supporters of the colonialists do not want to reckon with facts, because they are carrying on their old bankrupt policy.

If the French colonialists do not give up their attempts to retain Algeria as their colony by force, they will lose it as a result of a military defeat which is unavoidable.

Soon after General de Gaulle came to power as a result of a military *putsch,* he made a statement to the effect that France recognizes Algeria's right to self-determination. But later, under the pressure of the extremist reactionary colonialist forces, he went back on it and began talking about the right to self-determination, but only such "self-determination" as would predetermine in advance that Algeria would remain part of France. The most rabid French colonialists are demanding integration, that is, complete absorption of Algeria; they want to do away with Algerian Algeria and convert it into a French province in North Africa.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, of the socialist countries, firmly follow Lenin's behests that every people must have the right to self-determination, to organize their state the way they like. Therefore our sympathy, our support are with the Algerian people, who are waging a just war for their liberation from colonial oppression.

There are different wars. We are against rapacious, imperialist wars similar to that which the French colonialists are waging in Algeria. But we recognize and support the just wars of peoples for their liberation. The peoples of the oppressed countries are rising to the struggle to throw out the colonialists because the latter are not withdrawing from the colonies of their own free will. These peoples are not balking at taking up arms, if necessary, for winning their freedom and independence. The Algerian patriots are now waging such a struggle and we wish them success.

We have already spoken about the Soviet Union's *de facto* recognition of the provisional government of the Algerian Republic and want now to repeat this statement. This government has earned recognition by the whole world, including France. The

French Government more than once established contact and entered into negotiations with the government of the Algerian Republic, which is now regarded everywhere as the representative of the Algerian people, as its leader in the struggle for national freedom and independence.

The General Assembly adopted a decision to discuss at its plenary meeting the question of the Congo as well. In their speeches at the Assembly the Soviet delegation, the delegations of other socialist countries, and also many representatives of Asian and African countries correctly assessed the situation now obtaining in the Congo and the unseemly role played there by the Secretary of the United Nations.

Ineffaceable is the shame with which the United Nations covered itself as a result of the policy pursued in the Congo by the United Nations Secretariat under the leadership of Secretary-General Hammarskjold. Due to the efforts of Mr. Hammarskjold and his representatives, the lawful Parliament elected by the Congolese people and the government headed by Mr. Lumumba, set up by the Parliament on the basis of the Constitution, were disorganized and paralyzed.

And who are these representatives whom Mr. Hammarskjold sent to the Congo? They are Mr. Cordier and Mr. Bunche. Both are Americans. But you should not be surprised, because Mr. Hammarskjold himself is a servant of American monopoly capital. It was not for nothing that the United States Secretary of State Mr. Herter gave Mr. Hammarskjold a check for five million dollars to be used in the Congo at his own discretion to consummate the evil deed and to covertly restore the order which had existed there under the Belgian colonialists.

The developments took a tragic turn for the Congolese people. But at the same time it tore the masks from the faces of the imperialist colonialists and those who serve them, from the face of the United Nations Secretary-General.

Everyone now sees that he is pursuing a reactionary colonialist policy, expressing the interests of the imperialist group of countries headed by the United States. The developments in the Congo will serve to enlighten the colonial peoples, will help them to better understand who their friends and their enemies really are.

And the failure of the policy of the colonialists is beyond doubt. The time will come when the Republic of the Congo will stand firmly on its feet and fully ensure its independence. The guarantee for this is the selfless struggle the Congolese people are continuing to wage and which will bring victory. The socialist states, all freedom-loving nations are taking the side of the embattled colonial people, the side of the embattled people of the Congo.

Comrades, all during the time our delegation was sailing on the *Baltika* toward the American shores, and while we were in New York, we constantly felt the attention and support of the Soviet people, our great Soviet homeland.

We received thousands of letters and telegrams from different corners of our country. They were messages from the personnel of enterprises, collective farms, scientific institutions, Party, Soviet, trade union and YCL organizations, from numerous workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. These letters conveyed the most cordial wishes for success in the work of the Soviet delegation, expressed confidence that our delegation would do everything possible to see to it that the General Assembly Session would strengthen the peoples' faith in the relaxation of international tension, and would save mankind from the armaments race, from shameful colonial slavery.

The Soviet people gave unqualified support to the position of the Soviet Government and demonstrated profound concern for the settlement of the most important international problems for the benefit of all the peoples longing for peace, tranquility and happiness for themselves and for the generations to come.

All these kind messages gave us great confidence and inspired us to struggle for the strengthening of world peace, for the achievement of solutions for the most urgent and vitally important problems of our time.

Permit me, on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, on behalf of the Soviet Government and myself personally, to express the warmest gratitude to the collectives of the working people, to all the Soviet citizens for their kind wishes.

Our delegation also received thousands of letters and telegrams from foreign countries likewise conveying wishes for success in our work for the benefit of peace. Many letters and telegrams

were received from Americans who also expressed hope for the establishment of better mutual understanding among nations, for the strengthening of world peace.

Permit me to thank all our friends abroad for their kind wishes, for the support they rendered our delegation in its work at the Fifteenth Session of the General Assembly.

I would like to offer cordial thanks to the crew of the turbo-electric ship *Baltika* headed by Captain P. A. Maiorov, to thank the crew of the TU-114 plane and its commander A. K. Vidkovsky for their fine work, for their perfect service. We crossed the Atlantic aboard the *Baltika* and arrived in New York, and the TU-114 plane brought us back to our beloved Moscow in ten hours.

It took us ten days to cross the ocean on the *Baltika,* while only ten hours were needed to return from New York to Moscow in a TU-114 airliner. What progress in technology! A different level, different possibilities!

It is for the Soviet people to judge how the Soviet delegation fulfilled its mission at the General Assembly. We tried to represent the interests of the Soviet Union with honor and dignity. We did not waste our time, fully realizing that we came to New York to work and not to eat pancakes. The more so, since the American Government, as you know from the press, had no intention of meeting us with bread and salt. But this did not embarrass us and we did our job as the sense of a great responsibility and the conscience of Communists—the fighters for peace on earth—prompted us.

I should like, comrades, to share with you my impressions of the city of New York. It is a very large city. Gorky called it the City of the Yellow Devil. But more than fifty years have elapsed since Gorky was there and during this time New York has become still more repulsive. It seems to embody the ugliness and degeneration of capitalism. The people living there doom themselves to something like penal servitude for life and immure themselves in stone cells. Tall buildings are often torn down and replaced by new skyscrapers. The city seems to be crawling upward. Trees have been planted below in some streets, but they cannot grow, they wither and are obviously dying. They are replaced by new ones, but soon these too die.

It is pitiful to look at children who are deprived of the many joys of childhood, because they have no chance to run about or even to walk outdoors, which is necessary for every human being. The streets are literally jammed by a vast number of automobiles. And automobiles, as is known, use gasoline for fuel. This is why the entire atmosphere is poisoned. To put it in a nutshell, New York is a horrifying city in this respect.

The people who are responsible for the trend in city planning are unable to check the further degeneration of the city because neither the government nor the political leaders determine how the city is to develop; this is done by each owner of a plot of land. If it is to his advantage to tear down a fifteen- or twenty-story building and build one with forty, or even more stories on a busy street, he tears down the old building and puts up a new one.

The main thing in this City of the Yellow Devil is not the man but the dollar. Everyone thinks of how to make more money, how to get more dollars. Profits, the quest for capital, and not people are the center of attention there.

The capitalist trend in city planning takes little account of the vital requirements of the people. I could not but feel proud comparing this with our socialist city development, where planning and building are subordinated to the man, concern for him, and the creation of more conveniences.

Upon my return home to Moscow I literally delight in the fresh, invigorating air our people breathe. Our capital is a wondrous city, especially now when it is being transformed, when new sections are going up. Moscow is becoming an ever more wondrous city with comfortable houses, broad streets, squares, boulevards buried in greenery, children's playgrounds, ponds and parks.

Comrades, I have already said that the United Nations in its present form does not justify the hopes of the people to rid them of the menace of war, of the armaments race. But we believe that common sense will prevail, truth will triumph, good seeds will give an abundant crop. The time will come, and it is not far off, when under the pressure of the peoples the governments will realize the necessity for the peaceful coexistence of states, will arrive at the conclusion that general and complete disarmament under strict international control must be carried out. For our part, we shall do everything we can to have the United Nations

reorganized in line with the spirit of the demands of our time, to make it an effective and universal instrument of world peace.

It must be admitted that the international situation continues to be tense. The aggressive quarters in the United States have not abandoned their aggressive actions, the provocative flights of planes over other countries' territories, particularly the Soviet Union. As you know, we submitted for the General Assembly's consideration the question of the aggressive actions of the United States against the Soviet Union. This item has been put on the agenda.

A report recently appeared in the press to the effect that the Pentagon decided to send submarines equipped with rockets and nuclear weapons to cruise off the shores of the Soviet Union.

American generals and admirals cannot fail to know that our country also has atomic-powered submarines equipped with rockets. What would happen if we took the same road and our submarines started cruising off American shores?

This is the criminal "policy of brinkmanship" proclaimed by Dulles and pursued by his successors. This is the path of the "cold war" which may develop into a shooting war.

Our relations with the United States have deteriorated of late, but not through any fault of ours. But no matter how cold our relations with the United States are today, we shall carry on the Leninist policy of peaceful coexistence. We are sure that the time will come when the relations between our states, our peoples, our governments will improve.

But to bring this time nearer and to discourage the Pentagon and American aggressive quarters from staging provocations against the Soviet Union, it is necessary for our economy to develop at a high pace, for our science to be on an adequate level, for our Army to have the most up-to-date armaments.

It is necessary to do everything to raise steadily the productivity of labor; to ensure the growth of the economy, science and culture; to raise the living standards of the people so as to demonstrate in practice, in peaceful competition with capitalism, the great advantages of socialism, the great might of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Our domestic successes are convincingly illustrated by the recent report of the Central Statistical Board on the results of the

fulfillment of the national economic plan for the first nine months of the year. These results hearten the Soviet people, the indefatigable builders of communism, and inspire our friends abroad.

Socialist industry, developing at an extremely fast rate, is fulfilling its plans year after year. This year industrial production will increase by more than 140 billion rubles. It should be noted that only a few years ago, before the reorganization of management in industry, the annual growth of industrial production amounted to approximately 100 billion rubles.

You will remember that at the beginning of 1946, in drawing up the plans for the postwar development of our economy, the Party set the task of trebling industrial production and achieving an annual output of 60 million tons of steel and 60 million tons of oil. It was estimated that fifteen years and perhaps more would be required to achieve these goals.

How have the Soviet people coped with this task? Fifteen years have passed and industrial output in our country has increased, not three times but six times over. The Soviet Union now produces 65 million tons of steel and upward of 145 million tons of oil a year. Equally fine progress is being made in our agriculture and cultural construction.

The Communist Party and the Soviet Government devote special attention to training skilled personnel. Our country's successes in the training of skilled personnel have amazed the whole world.

The opponents of socialism have even produced an absurd theory that the more engineers, scientists, doctors and teachers the Soviet Union has, the greater the difficulties we shall experience on our onward march. Well, we are facing these "difficulties" with courage.

Allow me to quote some highly indicative figures. In 1926, when we were about to regain the prerevolutionary levels of our economy, the Soviet Union had 168,000 students in higher educational establishments and only a little more than 2.5 million white collar workers and intellectuals. Last year we had 2.2 million students, that is, 13 times more, while the number of white collar workers and intellectuals has increased eightfold and now exceeds 20 million. The number of engineers, technicians and agronomists has increased 18 times; and scientific workers, 23 times over.

The number of persons with secondary and higher education among manual workers has increased considerably. Before the revolution there were no people with secondary, let alone higher education among the workers and peasants; and today according to the latest census, 32 per cent of the manual workers have a secondary or higher education, including 39 per cent among the workers and 21 per cent among the collective farmers.

Thus in the years of Soviet power we have built up an army of more than 20 million brain workers—a truly popular intelligentsia, the flesh and blood of workers and peasants. Even more significant is the fact that almost a third of the Soviet people engaged in manual labor, including two-fifths of the workers and more than a fifth of the collective farmers, have a secondary or even higher education.

All this shows convincingly that we already have some very tangible achievements in gradually eliminating the essential differences between manual and mental work. I could quote many other equally convincing examples attesting to the outstanding achievements of our motherland which is advancing confidently toward the great goal of communism.

Dear comrades, in little more than two weeks' time we shall be celebrating the forty-third anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, the greatest revolution in the history of mankind. It is pleasant and heartening to realize that the Soviet people, the great builders of a new, Communist world, have achieved outstanding successes under the leadership of their own Party of Communists.

True to the all-conquering teachings of Marxism-Leninism, we are marching forward courageously, and no force in the world can arrest this advance of the peoples to their glorious goal.

Long live our Leninist Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of the building of communism!

Long live our Socialist motherland, the pride and glory of all progressive mankind!

Long live the mighty camp of the countries of Socialism!

Long live enduring peace throughout the world!